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JAPANESE ARROGANCE apparently knows no bounds. On the eve of the special session of the League Council called to consider the Lytton report on Japanese aggression in Manchuria, Japan again shows that it means to let neither reason nor justice enter into any settlement of the Manchurian question. Its delegation at Geneva has issued a lengthy statement denying all the charges made by the Lytton report and denouncing as impracticable or impossible every suggestion for an adjustment which was advanced by the League's commission of inquiry. Intervention is once more excused on the ground of self-defense, the statement asserting that the "chaotic conditions" in China made military action unavoidable. Japan forgets that the Nine-Power Treaty, to which it is a party, was specifically designed to prevent any of the Powers from taking selfish advantage of those unstable conditions. This pledge Japan deliberately violated. The Japanese statement declares that the military offensive which began at Mukden on September 18, 1931, did not exceed "the limitation of the right of self-defense." The Lytton report clearly shows that the Japanese army went far beyond the limits of legitimate self-defense, and even challenges the validity of the excuse put forward for the army's initial action at Mukden. Lastly, the Japanese statement contends that Manchukuo is in fact an independent state and came into being through the spontaneous efforts of the Chinese residents of Manchuria. The truth seems to have no meaning whatever for Japan.

THE JAPANESE CASE may have some merit which a free and conscientious discussion might bring out, but by their intransigent attitude and by the very violence of their sweeping and unsubstantiated assertions, which leave little room for calm or judicious argument, the Japanese have gravely injured their position. If they really believed that their interests in Manchuria were endangered fifteen months ago, why did they not, under the implied obligations of the Nine-Power Treaty, ask the other signatory Powers to discuss the question with them, instead of taking precipitate action on their own initiative? If Manchukuo is actually independent, why did Japan hasten to "recognize" that independence before the League had had time to complete its study of the question? If Japan is as sincerely interested in the future of Manchuria as it declares it is, why can it not sit down quietly and frankly with the other Powers and discuss Manchuria's future on the basis of the Lytton Commission's recommendations, instead of imperiously sweeping aside those recommendations as having no value? The issue, of course, has less to do with the quarrel between Japan and China over Manchuria than it has to do with the necessity of upholding the Kellogg Pact and other treaties. A simple controversy between two countries could probably be adjusted without great difficulty. But in the present controversy, as Lord Lytton so ably pointed out in his radio address before the meeting of the League Council, our international peace machinery itself is at stake. Thus the Council must not only settle the local quarrel, but must do so in such a way as to preserve confidence in the existing peace treaties. That confidence will be destroyed if the settlement reached does not take into account Japan's open and arrogant violation of the treaties.

AS WE GO TO PRESS President von Hindenburg is still in negotiation with Adolf Hitler as to whether the latter will join in a coalition Cabinet with the necessary Reichstag support; and Hitler and Hugenberg are also conferring as to whether they can join forces in such a government. There is, of course, a strong school of thought in Germany which believes that Hitler should be put into the government, first, to head off a dictatorship and, second, to see whether he can or cannot be tamed so as to work well in harness. Many of those who favor this are not friends but enemies of Hitler, who hope that he will speedily demonstrate his inability to work with others and his own shallow charlatanry. But that means that Germany will pay for an experiment which ought never to be tried. With the country's situation still as desperate as it is, there is no time for experimenting with a man who is committed to wholesale bloodletting if he seizes power, who heads an insolent and dangerous private army of 400,000 paid men. For the moment, however, the alternatives seem to be either another dissolution of the Reichstag and still another election with no prospect of much parliamentary change, or the appointment by Hindenburg of another and still more dictatorial government than that of Papen. The decision will presumably be made before this issue of *The Nation* reaches its read-

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ers. Whatever the difficulties of the situation, there should be no compromise with Hitler. His becoming the Chancellor could only be a catastrophe for democratic Germany.

AMONG THE REASSURING SIGNS that the philosophy of rugged individualism is breaking down under the pressure of events is the serious public interest in social insurance. In Missouri the proposal for an old-age-pension constitutional amendment was carried in the last election by a vote of four to one. This appears to be the first time in the history of the United States that a referendum on old-age pensions has been successful. The last referendum, voted on nine years ago in Ohio, was defeated by a majority of two to one. In Ohio a system of State unemployment insurance has been recommended in a report submitted to Governor White by the committee he appointed after provision was made for it by the General Assembly. The scheme provides that half of the worker's weekly wage is to be paid to him, if unemployed, over a maximum of sixteen weeks in any year after a waiting period of three weeks. In no case is the benefit to exceed $15 a week. While the fund for payments is to be placed in the custody of the State Treasurer, the State Treasury is to make no contribution of its own. Payments into the fund would amount to 3 per cent of all pay rolls, of which employers would contribute 2 per cent and workers 1 per cent. One great advantage of such a scheme is that it cannot be argued that the burden is falling on the general taxpayer, or that the legislature is yielding to pressure for doling out the taxpayers' money. The recommendations will be submitted to the Ohio General Assembly when it convenes in January. Finally, and most importantly, the American Federation of Labor has at last abandoned its traditional opposition to any form of compulsory unemployment insurance. Its executive council now recommends state insurance supported by contributions amounting to at least 3 per cent of the total pay roll, to be paid entirely by employers.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION seemed to have reached an unexpected but highly desirable goal when it was announced in Paris the other day that France and Germany had agreed to organize a "consortium for the construction of public works throughout Europe." One of the first undertakings of the consortium, according to the announcement, would be "a program of electrification of railways in several countries, such as Poland, Rumania, Iraq, and Portugal." The cost of this program "has been set at 17,000,000,000 francs," or about $666,400,000. Bond issues to finance the electrification program and other projects would be floated in London, Paris, and Berlin. The avowed objects of the scheme would be to reduce unemployment and to promote international economic cooperation generally. This is an excellent plan in many ways, and we hope that in the not-too-distant future something like it will be possible of achievement. For the time being, however, it is faced with numerous tangible obstacles. First of all, where and how is the necessary capital to be obtained? Europe is in a bad way financially. The governments cannot finance this ambitious plan, and we doubt very much that the ordinary financial markets can absorb any considerable part of the enormous bond issues upon which the success of the scheme depends. Finally, the announcement appears to have been not only premature but rather tactless, coming as it did upon the heels of the European plea for a further moratorium and a reconsideration of the war-debt agreements. If Europe is so poor, opponents of debt reduction may well ask, how can it afford even to think of making the huge expenditures contemplated in the consortium scheme?

THE COURSE regarding the war debts which President Hoover vaguely advocated during the campaign and in his letter of November 12 to Governor Roosevelt—that we should be "receptive to proposals from our debtors of tangible compensation in other forms than direct payment, in expansion of markets for the products of our labor and our farms"—represents, next to a flat refusal to reconsider the debts, perhaps the worst course we could take. For what, reduced to plain English, would such a policy mean? It would mean that we would offer to cancel or reduce the war debts in return for lower tariffs on American products in Europe, while we would keep our own tariff wall just as high as it is. In short, this is a plan to begin all over again the policies that have brought about the present impasse—to sell more goods to Europe and to refuse to buy any in return—to sell, that is, more goods to Europe on credit, to compel Europe again to pile up a huge debt to us, which it will not be able to pay, so that we shall again be obliged to cancel, which we will do in return for permission to give away more goods to Europe—and so, ad infinitum. What hope is there for economic sanity when such Alice in Wonderland policies are supported by our "practical" leaders?

MOST CONSERVATIVE COMMENTATORS looked upon the defeat of the Progressive candidates in the Wisconsin primaries last September as "a turn to the right." It was anything but that. Those who saw in the events of September the destruction, or at least the beginning of the disintegration, of the power of the La Follettes must have been greatly disappointed by the events of November. Every one of the candidates on the State ticket who was indorsed by the Progressives was elected. These included not only the Democrats, but also Theodore Dammann, Progressive Republican candidate for Secretary of State. Dammann, the only Progressive Republican victor in the primaries, was also the only Republican candidate for State office to survive the Democratic landslide on election day. Virtually all the conservative Republican candidates received fewer votes in November than they did in September, clearly indicating that the Progressive voters followed their leaders in abandoning traditional party lines. The Wisconsin voters also elected a Democratic Governor whose public-utility program is as liberal and enlightened as that of the Progressives. And they approved the proposed amendment to the State constitution which is intended to help municipalities to set themselves up in the power business. Plainly the La Follettes have not lost their hold upon their followers, and certainly there is no proof that the people of Wisconsin have abandoned the habit of independent thinking and progressive action which has distinguished them for decades.

THE CAUSE OF GOOD GOVERNMENT in New York City has been tremendously advanced by the action of Mayor McKee in deliberately breaking with Tammany Hall and calling upon all good citizens to join in the

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fight to rescue the city from that sinister and corrupt organization. Coming as this does on top of fresh pressure by the bankers, who frankly and correctly say that they will not advance further sums to the city until the Tammany government gives evidence of a genuine and far-reaching effort to reduce expenses and cut down the budget, it will undoubtedly lead the reform forces to begin immediate preparations for the campaign for the mayoralty which will come next summer. They will be aided unintentionally by the new Mayor, O'Brien, who takes office for one year on January first, for his utterances during the campaign have already made him a laughing-stock in the city. There has also been refreshing frankness on the part of leading Republicans like Nicholas Murray Butler and Charles H. Tuttle, who have said that the local Republican organization must be reformed and reorganized if anybody is to have any respect whatever for it and for its alleged anti-Tammany campaigns. Samuel Seabury put it correctly several weeks ago when he declared that there was no moral difference between the two organizations, the Democratic and the Republican. This, as our readers are aware, is what *The Nation* has been saying for many years past. But while we welcome the many evidences that Mayor McKee may be able to lead a very substantial revolt against Tammany, of a character to compel the immediate support of the President-elect and the new Governor, if not of Alfred E. Smith, we do not overlook the fact that there can be no genuine conquest of Tammany Hall until a radical reorganization of the city government is advocated and put into effect. No halfway measures will do, and no mere temporary outburst of civic anger will succeed, for the city will once more slip into the clutches of Tammany Hall when the indignation has spent itself.

THE NATION ADDS ITS PROTEST to that of the American Civil Liberties Union and eleven distinguished Americans who have written to the Georgia Prison Commission to demand an explanation of the degrading and inhuman practices found in Georgia prisons and prison camps by John L. Spivak and described in his recent book "Georgia Nigger." Mr. Spivak has published documents and photographs to support his charges. He discovered convicts suspended in stocks by wrists and ankles; convicts "put in barrels"; convicts trussed up and "restricted of movement"—one photograph shows a boy with a pick handle thrust between his bound wrists and ankles; convicts subjected to "stretching," a torture which involves pulling the victim's arms apart as far as possible by ropes attached to his handcuffs and lashed to posts; convicts shackled and suffering from "shackle poison" caused by the irons riveted around the ankles working into the flesh; convicts in iron collars, chained to their bunks. Beatings, unexplained deaths, men forced to work while ill, men denied medical care—such practices and more are included in this record of medieval torture. The letter to the State commissioners asks whether they regard these brutalities as legal and, if not, whether they are prepared to stop them. It hints, too, at the possibility of federal court action against the State of Georgia for violation of the constitutional guaranty against "cruel and unusual punishments." We trust that the attitude of the State officials is not represented by the comment of one of its prison commissioners quoted by Mr. Spivak. "Georgia," he said, "does not feel that the State owes anything to the convict."

A Plea for Selfishness

CONFRONTED by the most critical decision that American statesmanship has been called upon to make in foreign affairs since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, our officials have betrayed so shocking a lack of responsibility in their utterances that it seems almost utopian to discuss the wisest action that the United States might take in the circumstances. Our politicians have decided unanimously that it is almost treasonable to breathe the word cancelation. They are nearly as shocked by the word reduction. Only one or two of them have had the courage to talk even of revision, and the majority seem to have set their faces against the slightest reconsideration. In such an atmosphere all those who recognize the gravity of the situation are almost compelled to devote themselves to efforts to head off the most disastrous possible course—that of refusing, after the express plea of two great world Powers, even to reexamine their capacity to pay or any factor bearing on the means of transferring payments.

Such a refusal would be the most ostrich-like policy that even the United States has ever followed in foreign affairs. It would be an implicit admission of the justice of the French and British request combined with a determination not to grant it. By failing even to revive the World War Debt Commission, Congress would be saying, in effect, that we could not trust a responsible body of our own experts not to recognize the necessity for a cut in debt payments—for all the Congressmen who have so far publicly opposed the revival of the World War Debt Commission have done so, not on the ground that this would be a superogatory and merely time-consuming courtesy, but that it would be "an initial step toward cancelation or reduction." This is a way of saying that any body of American experts that actually examined the case would be morally obliged to recommend reductions; therefore it is better not to look into it. A creditor who adjusts the debts of his debtors on the basis of capacity to pay, and on that basis grants some of them much more favorable terms than others, but who, when conditions have radically changed, bluntly refuses to reexamine the capacity to pay of any of them, puts himself in an untenable position in the eyes of the world.

There was a time, in the discussion of the war-debt problem, when it seemed possible to appeal to American generosity. Responsible observers will now consider themselves highly fortunate if they can successfully appeal to American selfishness. Even the most cold-blooded banker does not refuse to examine his debtor's capacity to pay. He does not shout at his debtor, as so many Congressmen are now shouting: "Pay or repudiate—all or nothing!" He is not primarily anxious to humiliate his debtor, to call him a welcher, to pick a fight with him, to cut off any possible future friendly relations with him. He is primarily anxious that his debtor be kept going, so that that debtor will be both able and willing to repay him as much as he can. This would be the attitude of our Congressmen if they were thinking merely of our self-interest; but the utterances of many of them make it clear that they are actuated to an astonishing extent by pure malice and hatred, no matter how costly those sadistic emotions may be to us.

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Shall Americans Starve?

THIS is, after all, the greatest issue which confronts the United States this winter. We have given, and shall continue to give, a great deal of space to the problem of the debts due us by foreign nations because we believe that in the solution of that problem lies not only one road to the economic rehabilitation of the world, but one method of escape from a future war. But vital as such questions are to the welfare and happiness of the American people and to their standing in the eyes of the world, today the all-important issue before every American is: Shall Americans, through no fault of their own, starve in the sight of plenty?

This question we have put before, and upon it we shall harp week by week until there is relief, or no longer any need therefor. In August last, in a leading editorial, we asked: "Is It to Be Mass Murder, Mr. Hoover?" Since that time the situation has in no wise improved so far as the unemployed are concerned. Nearly four precious months have elapsed and the winter is now upon us with everybody admitting that private relief cannot possibly raise the amounts needed to care for the army of the unemployed and its dependents, who cannot be less than 20,000,000 people—one-sixth of our entire population. According to the *Christian Century,* one of the largest parades ever seen in Chicago was held two weeks ago, by the ragged, the hungry, and the starving, in their pitiful but unheard appeal to their bankrupt city for relief. Day by day they not only sink lower and lower physically because of malnutrition, but they become more hopeless, more unfitted for work, less able again to take their places in an industrial society. And what is happening in Chicago is being duplicated all over the country. In Albany, for example, a ten-year-old child collapsed in school and actually died of starvation, while a brother could only just be saved. There is hardly a public-school teacher in our large cities who is not faced with the horrible task of trying to instruct minds in half-starved bodies. Every hour makes us wonder how human beings can endure as passively and as heroically as do our 12,000,000 unemployed. Every day makes us more fearful that their patience will snap, and that there will be bloodshed upon the streets of our American cities.

Some of the actual conditions now existing are set forth elsewhere in this issue by Mauritz Hallgren of the staff of *The Nation.* It is a temperate article, conservatively written, but it states the facts—facts which cry out to high heaven. Yet ever since Mr. Hoover plunged into the election campaign, there has been no evidence that he has been the least bit concerned with what is going on, save that he repeated during his campaign speeches his statement that "we have a solid backlog of assurance that there need be no hunger or cold in the United States"—a statement unfounded at the time he made it and much farther from the truth at this hour. The debt issue, on which the President has asked the President-elect to confer with him, is obviously pressing in view of the notes from the Allies and the approaching session of Congress. But what we should like to read is that the President and his successor will also meet to discuss how relief may be guaranteed, how a real "backlog of assurance" that there shall be no hunger may be given to the country. Meanwhile, there is only the assurance that multitudes will suffer and many may starve. The reasons for this Mr. Hallgren sets forth clearly, and there can be no gainsaying his facts. Billions of dollars will be called for to care decently for those who are without food, shelter, or work. The very magnitude of the problem is such that it can be handled neither by local charities nor by our cities, many of which are either bankrupt or nearly bankrupt, nor even by the States.

As we said last August, the Congressional appropriation of $300,000,000 which was Mr. Hoover's excuse for saying there would be no cold or hunger this winter is a mere drop in the bucket. Chicago's one hope is the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. New York, if Tammany is not frightened into sanity, will soon be on the same road, and unable to pay the salaries of its employees. Philadelphia has again failed to pay. To expect that this can go on indefinitely is preposterous. It will only make matters worse to charge that every hunger march is Communist-inspired, or to call out the troops to shoot down the starving. It is not surprising that some of the appeals that are being made in New York to those persons who still have private means urge the giving of aid as "a matter of safety." Of course it is a matter of safety, not only for law and order, but for the State itself.

We trust that the Progressives in Congress, enormously strengthened as they are by the recent landslide, will lose no time in introducing bills that will demand the necessary sums and make it possible to get those sums through to the actual sufferers in the shortest possible time. We believe that the country will rise to their support. Mr. Hoover certainly cannot claim that his policy toward the unemployed or anybody else was sustained by the electorate. We believe that a whole army of social workers could be marshaled in Washington to testify to the absolute need of federal aid on a wholesale scale. Besides which, there may be a formidable hunger march upon the capital.

We hope that no one at this point will bring up the question of how the sums necessary are to be raised. We are still far below the peak of the debt reached during the World War, and money can be had in very great amounts in the form of loans from the public. A Victory Depression Loan, or an Anti-Starvation Loan, would be subscribed many times over. Is not the Treasury getting temporary loans today at the smallest cost on record? We have pointed out before that if the war had continued another six months or a year there would have been no difficulty whatever in raising as many additional billions to kill Germans as the government thought necessary. No one who recalls those years, or those loan campaigns, will admit for a moment that in 1918 we were even in sight of the end of our resources. The emergency today is far greater, infinitely more worth while, infinitely more appealing, for the objects are not mass murder and the support of a stupid and futile war, but the rescue of American men, women, and children from a horrible and unnecessary death.

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Another Herriot Plan

A FEW weeks ago Premier Herriot of France declared he would soon present a new plan for disarmament. He described the plan in some detail. The proposals he offered were not ideal, but they included a number of points which *The Nation* could and did indorse. Now the French Foreign Office has published the program in complete detail and we are thoroughly disillusioned, for the original Herriot program is so hedged about with conditions and new suggestions as to make it quite a different scheme from that which we had believed the French Premier was advancing. The formal memorandum shifts the emphasis from disarmament to the old French demand for security. In short, it is simply another bold attempt on the part of France to extend its political control over continental Europe. Small wonder that the Germans, who looked with undisguised favor on the earlier conception of the French plan, should now so bitterly denounce the entire scheme.

The published plan does propose to abolish the professional armies of Europe by putting the standing forces on a short-term conscript basis, and to strip these defensive forces of their offensive weapons, particularly their long-range artillery and heavy tanks, which might "facilitate an attack on permanent fortifications." The air forces likewise are to be placed on a defensive basis by being deprived of their bombing equipment. With these proposals we cannot quarrel, but the plan does not stop there. It also provides for an international army under the control of the League. Each of the contracting parties, under this scheme, would "place permanently at the disposal of the League of Nations as a contingent for joint action a small number of specialized units consisting of troops serving a relatively long term and provided with the powerful materials prohibited for the national armies." Can there be any doubt that such a powerful offensive military force, if not directed with the utmost impartiality, would soon dominate Europe? There are a thousand objections to the creation of an international army, but the most serious is found in the Herriot plan itself.

At present a unanimous vote by the Council is required before the League can apply sanctions or take other action against belligerent Powers which violate the Covenant. This stringent requirement has long been regarded as the principal obstacle to effective intervention by the League in time of threatened war. Certainly it would be next to impossible to obtain unanimity if the larger Powers or the members of the Council were on opposing sides in any controversy. France now proposes to overcome this difficulty by having the Council reach its decisions "by a majority vote." At first blush this may seem the sensible thing to do, but when we perceive that the majority in the Council would thereby be given control of the League army, we realize what a dangerous change this would be. Nor can it have escaped anyone's attention that France and its satellites now dominate the League and therefore, under the Herriot scheme, would have virtual command of the international army. History records no bid for power more audacious than that implied in the French "disarmament" program.

The Herriot plan proposes, at least by inference, the extension of the Locarno agreements to Eastern Europe. Boundary problems in that part of the Continent, especially those involving Germany and Poland, appear almost insoluble. Nevertheless, until the eastern frontiers are made as stable as those of Western Europe, there will be constant friction and possibility of war. The Herriot plan also proposes a consultative pact. Of the four conditions laid down by the French memorandum, the United States could probably accept the first and last. The United States could agree in advance that a breach of the Kellogg Pact "is a matter of interest to all the Powers and shall be regarded as a breach of the obligations assumed toward each one of them"; and there can be no question that it is prepared to join with the other Powers in declaring "their determination not to recognize any de facto situation brought about in consequence of the violation of an international undertaking," for that is the very heart of the Stimson doctrine. But it is doubtful whether the United States would agree in advance to "concert together" with the other Powers in deciding upon the action to be taken against a nation violating the peace treaties. Nor does it seem likely that Washington would bind itself beforehand to join in an economic or financial embargo against an aggressor. Premier Herriot's memorandum declares that without acceptance of these points his entire plan "would be impracticable." If he persists in this, it is probable that Washington's almost inevitable rejection of the consultative pact will mean the end of this ambitious scheme.

The Mills of the Gods

A THIRD Indian Round Table Conference is now in private session in London. There were 96 delegates in all at the first Round Table and 108 at the second. At the third meeting there are only 43. Of these, 10 are representatives of British parliamentary parties and 33 are appointees of the Indian Government. Of the Indian appointees 11 are from the states and 22 from British India. In making its choices the Government has apparently favored the Moslems, choosing, from all India, 10 Moslem appointees to 18 Hindus, whereas in the total population there are 77,000,000 Moslems and 238,000,000 Hindus.

The familiar Sapru and Jayakar are present, but Sastri has been dropped. The opposition of the Sikhs in British India is so strong that the Government had to get its one Sikh appointee from Patiala State. There is one appointee for women, a Moslem, and one for labor. The appointee for Nawanagar State is an Englishman, Rushbrook Williams, who presumably will keep the other Indian state appointees in line. There is one Indian industrialist, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, but he has been repudiated by the two important Indian business organizations and has publicly stated that he is going only as an individual. There is no appointee for Burma. A dispatch from London dated November 15 reports that contrary to all British expectations the Burmese, by popular ballot, have voted to remain an integral part of India. That makes trouble for the Government. It must either rearrange all its plans for the new government of India, or try to force separate government on the Burmese. There are no representatives of the Indian National Congress, which is admitted to be the strongest and best-organized political party in India.

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These changes are a partial indication of the unrepresentative character of the Indian group at the conference and of the extent of the decline of British prestige and influence in India during the last eleven months. The London *Times* correspondent in Bombay reported that when the Indian appointees sailed, most of them said "that they were merely being invited to sign on the dotted line a scheme which was already cut and dried, imposing provincial autonomy without hope of any concessions at the center." Their suspicions seem fully verified by the editorials, articles, and speeches reported in the British press of the past nine months and by the reactionary proceedings of the recent conference of the Conservative Party at Blackpool. In a speech at London on November 2 Lord Winterton, one of the British members of the conference, made it clear that the new British constitution for India is nearly completed. He boasted that the opponents of the Government in Parliament would be unable to alter it, so certainly the Indian members of the present conference cannot do so either.

The future of India is not going to be determined by this conference or by Parliament, but by events and forces in India itself. The cruelly repressive ordinances are being forced through the provincial and central legislatures and made into permanent statutes, thus insuring a steadily increasing resentment against the Government. The Viceroy has recently refused to permit Shaukat Ali to see Gandhi in jail in order to work out a friendly agreement between Moslems and Hindus. The Government mobilized the pro-British communalist Moslem leaders to block this growing reconciliation movement, which seems to have resulted from a general softening of the hearts of all Indians because of Gandhi's fast. As a result of the Viceroy's refusal the Khilafat group of Moslems shows signs of resistance to the Government. ***Sar Faraz,*** the bi-weekly organ of the All-India Shia Conference, has announced that the Shia sect of Indian Moslems, numbering 20,000,000, favors joint electorates. It is reported that on October 12 the standing committee of the Shia Conference passed a resolution urging the Government to release Gandhi immediately and unconditionally so that he might help to bring about a settlement of the communal question. Representative Shias, in opposition to the communalist Moslem leaders, took part in the recent conference at Lucknow which tried to reach a settlement with Hindu leaders.

The British "dual policy" in India—repression coupled with constitutional reform—has failed for two reasons. First, Gandhi's methods have helped to make Indians fearless and self-reliant, thereby eliminating the only basis on which the policy might have worked. Second, the policy in action has had the wrong emphasis. The repression has been swift and very harsh; while the reforms have been so slow that none of them have yet appeared, and the probability that their promised substance will materialize steadily dwindles as the months drag on. In all likelihood next year will be the testing time, as the new constitution is scheduled to be finished then and the Government will not dare to delay longer. Meanwhile, behind the façade of British "law and order," Indians of all parties, communities, and classes are steadily becoming more unified, and the intangible forces of opposition to the Government are steadily mounting. The new constitution will not satisfy any but a dwindling band of Indian loyalists.

Brave New World

SEVERAL years ago one Karl Blossfeldt, a modest professor of sculpture in Berlin, created something of an international sensation by publishing a volume of magnificent photographs entitled "Urformen der Kunst." His subjects were simply the stems, leaves, flowers, and fruits of common plants, but when these subjects were photographed against a plain background and then enlarged from two or three to ten or twelve diameters they revealed a startling beauty of a wholly unexpected kind. Here was a brave new world indeed—one which had never really been seen before until reproduced upon the enlarged scale suitable to the human eye, and one which, strangest of all, seemed peculiarly "modern" in feeling. Seen as his camera saw it, the beauty of these lowly organisms of familiar fields was beauty of the very same formal, abstract kind which much of modern sculpture and modern painting had been seeking to reveal.

Both those who saw this first volume and those who did not should take a look at the newly published Second Series, and, if possible, pay a visit to the Weyhe Galleries on Lexington Avenue in New York, where some of the original photographs are spread upon the walls. Again the subjects are only flowers, twigs, and seed pods, but again the effect is of a new and really majestic world. Ordinarily one thinks of the delicacy of plant life. "Flower pieces" are associated with charm, fragility, and sentiment. But these are the last qualities suggested by one of Dr. Blossfeldt's photographs, which recall the formal carving of the Egyptians. One is struck less by the decorative effect than by the perfection of the structure. Once the flower, the fruit, or the stem has been sufficiently enlarged, one perceives it, not as fancifully elaborate, but as strongly built. Its elements, however delicate they may seem to the human eye, are designed to bear weight and to resist stress. No modern architect could reveal so cleverly or impressively the structural function of his pillars and beams. This stamen crowned with an anther might be built of steel. This stem, ribbed for strength, supports a crushing load. Broken by hand from the plant, it seems weak; photographed ten times its natural size, one might easily mistake it for a column of basalt salvaged from the ruins of some ancient temple.

The German title of Professor Blossfeldt's first volume suggests the theory that the inspiration of the first artists came directly from nature, but in the short preface to the second he wisely refuses to draw any easy conclusions. It would, indeed, be rash to maintain that the human architect drew his inspiration from natural forms even when he seems to imitate them. He may have rediscovered independently these discoveries of nature just as he invented the lever many millenniums after nature had begun to use it in the skeletons of her creatures. But in addition to furnishing pure delight, Dr. Blossfeldt's photographs do raise some interesting aesthetic questions. How purely "natural" does nature remain when so reproduced? When the photographer immortalizes one of nature's aspects and then isolates it within the framework of a photograph, has he not already performed two of the fundamental operations by which the artist transforms his material?

* "Art Forms in Nature." Second Series. By Karl Blossfeldt. New York: E. Weyhe. $10.50.

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Billions for Relief

By MAURITZ A. HALLGREN

THE darkest winter in many years, perhaps in the country's history, is in prospect for the jobless workers of America. There has been of late no appreciable reduction in the number of persons unemployed, even if we take at their face value the most optimistic of the recent official statements purporting to show an upward trend in business. Compared with last year, the number of unemployed has increased at least 20 per cent. Even more discouraging is the proportionately greater increase in the number of destitute persons in the country. Many of the jobless, when first thrown out of work and for some time afterward, had homes to mortgage or sell, insurance to borrow against, or furniture to dispose of in return for food; today few have anything left to fall back upon. Last winter a large part of the relief burden was carried by "the poor helping the poor." Today most of the relatives and neighbors of the jobless are themselves approaching destitution. At best they have only enough for their own requirements. Evidence of this is piling up daily in the headquarters of the social agencies and relief committees throughout the country.

In a majority of the industrial communities the need will be more than doubled this winter as compared with last year, and it must be remembered that the money available for relief last winter was not nearly enough to provide adequately for the bulk of the destitute unemployed. Social workers were virtually unanimous in declaring that the relief extended in a majority of cases was merely sufficient to prevent actual hunger, and even then numerous cases of death from starvation or kindred causes found their way into the public records. Last winter financial assistance came primarily from private sources and local governments. Since then we have passed through a disastrous year, the worst of the three years of depression, with the result that many municipalities are bankrupt and many individuals who usually give to their local charities can no longer do so. The greater share of the burden must be carried by other agencies whose financial position is relatively stronger, that is, by the federal government and some of the State governments.

Precisely how many persons are out of work? And how many are destitute? The government cannot reply, for it lacks the machinery with which to determine the exact extent of the unemployment and consequent distress. Even the Department of Labor must depend upon a private agency, the American Federation of Labor, for its estimates of the total number of persons out of work. In his campaign speeches President Hoover mentioned 10,000,000 as the number of unemployed. The Communist Party contends that the total is nearer 16,000,000. Using as a basis for computation the statistics covering unemployment in its own ranks, the American Federation of Labor estimates that there are at present 11,000,000 men and women out of work in the United States. This estimate is probably conservative, for organized labor is usually much better protected than are the unorganized workers. President Green has predicted that there will be 13,000,000 jobless in the country by January. The Department of Commerce has reported, although on very flimsy evidence it must be admitted, that 1,000,000 new jobs have been created in the last few months. If we take William Green's estimate, and subtract from it the 1,000,000 new jobs which the Department of Commerce believes it has discovered, we find that there will be at least 12,000,000 persons unemployed this winter. The true figure will doubtless be somewhat higher.

How many of the jobless and their dependents are or will be in actual want? This is another question which cannot be answered accurately. Some of the unemployed still have resources of their own or have relatives and friends supporting them, and so are not eligible for relief according to the strict rules being applied by virtually all social agencies and emergency committees. Assistance is now being extended almost exclusively to bona fide paupers. If all the unemployed and their dependents were in want, we should probably have to feed from 48,000,000 to 60,000,000 mouths. However, my observations in many parts of the country last winter and spring indicated that at that time there were five persons in need for every three persons out of work; and the records of many social agencies support this finding. This winter the ratio of destitute to unemployed will be much greater. But on the basis of a five to three ratio we find that there will be approximately 20,000,000 persons who must be helped. Provision must be made not only to tide that number over the winter months, but to help them for a year or longer. Although unemployment may decrease in the next twelve months, the cumulative effect of the distress upon those who will still have no jobs—the exhaustion of their individual resources, the piling up of their debts, and other factors—makes it morally certain that destitution will continue to increase at a rate that will at least offset any benefits that may be derived from reemployment.

How much money will be required to feed, clothe, and shelter these 20,000,000 unfortunate Americans? Perhaps $100 a year per destitute person will prove sufficient. This is at the rate of $8.33 a month, or 28 cents a day, which surely holds forth no promise of luxuries for the unemployed. I doubt very much that the independent spirit of the American workingman will be broken down by this sum, especially as out of this amount must come not only food, clothing, and shelter, but also fuel, medical attention, recreation, and the administrative expenses of distributing relief. Of course the jobless *can* get along on less. I have seen them living on the ragged edge of starvation in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, at a time when no relief whatever was forthcoming. In Williamson County, Illinois, I have seen them trying to keep alive on $1.50 a week for each family of five, a sum which amounts to 4 cents a day for each person. I have seen them happy to get as much as 6 cents' worth of food a day in the municipal bread line in Toledo. On the other hand, the Charity Organization Society of New York once estimated that the average metropolitan family of five must have $25 a week to keep itself at the "bare subsistence" level. This is at the rate of 71 cents a day per person. It is difficult to believe that any destitute American can for very long maintain

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himself as a healthy and potentially useful citizen on less than 28 cents a day. Many experienced social workers believe that he ought to have from $300 to $500 a year, if there is not to be serious and perhaps permanent injury to our social organization. Indeed, these authorities hold that a grave injury has already been done through our neglect of the unemployed in the last two or three years. In any case, not less than $2,000,000,000 will be needed to care for our 20,000,000 destitute during the next twelve months. That is an irreducible minimum. It is based on the most conservative estimates of the number of unemployed and their actual need.

Where is this money to come from? Certainly not from private charity alone. The idea that the private agencies could cope with the problem was abandoned two years ago. Last winter, according to various estimates by statisticians and social workers, these agencies were carrying between 20 and 35 per cent of the load. In May, 1931, the private charitable organizations in Chicago provided for more than half of the needy families who were receiving help in that community—and it is important to note that many hundreds of destitute families in Chicago were getting no help at all at that time. In May, 1932, the private agencies had all but dropped out of the picture, 95 per cent of the relief work in that month being financed by the public treasury. There is a tendency on the part of the private agencies, moreover, to return to other problems which have been neglected of late, but which have greatly increased in importance because of the depression. These include hospitalization, visiting-nurse services, child welfare, prevention of crime, and "provision against the misuse of the immensely increased leisure time." The private charities feel that if this work is to be kept up they must turn the unemployment-relief work over to others. Even if the various emergency committees now soliciting funds from private contributors succeed in raising as much money as they did last year for unemployment relief, which seems unlikely, these private funds will be proportionately smaller than they were a year ago, because the need has so greatly increased. We shall presume, however, that the emergency committees and similar private bodies can and will provide 20 per cent of the $2,000,000,000 that is needed.

The remaining $1,600,000,000 must come from the local or State governments or from the federal government. It is clear that the municipalities are not today in a position to help. A few cities and counties can take care of their own, but the larger industrial communities, including Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Chicago, are unable to do so. Though New York City is facing another financial crisis, there is some hope that $21,000,000 for relief will be appropriated out of its municipal funds. Philadelphia has again had to withhold the pay of its employees. Chicago's destitute since July 27 have been fed and sheltered out of funds provided by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Chicago's case is no doubt extreme. If all the other industrial centers where unemployment is heavy were in the same plight, the federal government would have to take over the entire relief burden. The outlook in New York City is somewhat less gloomy, for there some hope still exists that help may be obtained from private sources and from the local and State government.

According to a recent police census, there are more than 900,000 persons out of work in New York City—William Hodson, director of the Welfare Council, puts the total at well over 1,000,000. On the basis of five destitute for every three unemployed, there are approximately 1,500,000 who need help. To care for these people at the rate of $100 per destitute person per year, the sum of $150,000,000 would be needed in 1933. According to their present estimates the private charities will spend about $15,000,000 on unemployment relief during the coming year. This depends, of course, upon their ability to raise the necessary additional funds, for they have not now enough money to keep going at the present rate for another twelve months. The Gibson emergency committee hopes to raise an additional $15,000,000. Thus approximately 20 per cent of the total amount needed for the city may possibly be obtained from private sources.

The State has decided to allocate to New York City one-half of the $30,000,000 to be derived from the sale of a special bond issue which was approved by the voters on November 8. The municipal government hopes to be able to appropriate $21,000,000. Thus the State and city will, if present plans work out, contribute approximately 24 per cent of the amount required for relief. Compared with other industrial centers, New York City is relatively well off. Nevertheless, it seems likely that New York will do no more than meet 44 per cent of the need of its citizens, and it is essential to keep in mind that not all of the $66,000,000 which private charity and the municipal and State governments may contribute is by any means assured. However, the other 56 per cent must be obtained somewhere, and there is no other agency to which to turn except the federal government.

If we base our estimates on the Chicago situation, the federal government will have to shoulder almost the entire cost of unemployment relief. If we base them on New York, the federal government will have to bear 56 per cent of the cost, or, in other words, appropriate about $1,120,000,000 for relief. Obviously there is no way to determine precisely how much Washington must contribute, for constitutional requirements, statutory limitations, bonding powers, financial resources, and the proportion of destitution vary considerably from State to State and from municipality to municipality, and all these factors govern the sums that can be made available locally for relief.

The need is great and immediate. It is no longer a question of who, by moral or legal right, ought to be called upon to support the unemployed. The question today is simply this: Who is financially able to extend promptly and with some degree of adequacy the relief that is desperately needed? There is little doubt that the private charities and local governments will do what they can, for they are much closer to the people who are suffering than are the State legislatures and Congress. But these local agencies have not the means or the credit standing to carry on the relief work even on the inadequate scale reached last winter. The credit position of some of the States is still excellent; that of the federal government is the best in the country. While a few of the States can help to a much greater extent than they have been doing, none is in a position to act so quickly and effectively as Washington. From every angle it is clear that it is the federal government's imperative duty to take over the larger share of the national relief problem.

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The Democratic Revolution

By ORVILLE WELSH

IT was more than an election—it was a revolution. For the first time since before the Civil War the Democratic Party has become the majority party in the nation. Not only is Franklin D. Roosevelt the first Democratic President in three-quarters of a century to have an actual majority of the popular vote, but the 1932 elections left the Republicans with undisputed sway in only one State—Vermont. Maine already had elected a Democratic Governor and two Democratic Congressmen. New Hampshire elected a Democratic Senator, Ex-Governor Fred H. Brown, to displace the veteran George H. Moses. Connecticut reelected the Democrat, Governor Cross, put Augustine Lonergan in the Senate in place of Hiram Bingham, and elected a Democratic State senate. Connecticut's rotten-borough constitution, under which small towns have equal representation in the assembly with large cities, insured Republican retention of the lower house of the legislature. Delaware elected a Democratic Congressman, the State's only representative in the House. Pennsylvania, the very citadel of the G. O. P., elected eleven Democratic Congressmen and many Democratic State legislators—a rare sight at Harrisburg. The Mellon machine was unable to carry even Pittsburgh and Allegheny County for Hoover.

The new House of Representatives in Washington is Democratic by nearly three to one, and for the first time in history the Northern and Western Democratic Congressmen outnumber those from the South, thus laying the specter of Southern domination in Congress. In the Senate the Democrats are so solidly intrenched that Democratic control seems assured until 1937 or 1939. Of the forty-eight State Governors, thirty-eight now are Democrats, one is Farmer-Labor, and only nine are Republican. In all the huge area west of the Alleghenies combined with that south of the Mason and Dixon line, there are only four States in which the Republicans will have two United States Senators after March 4. These are Oregon, where Senator Steiwer was reelected; North Dakota, where Senator Nye, a Progressive, was reelected; Nebraska, where Senator Norris campaigned for Roosevelt; and Michigan, where no Senate election was held.

It is useless for the Republicans to console themselves with the fact that the party suffered a similar crushing defeat in 1912, only to recapture the Presidency by 7,000,000 votes eight years later. The Republican-Progressive split was obviously the reason for the 1912 defeat. Nor can they point to Al Smith's defeat by 6,000,000 votes in forty States in 1928. Smith's vote represented a tremendous increase over any previously cast for a Democrat; the trouble was that it was concentrated in States which the Democrats in that year had no chance of carrying. But the election returns of 1930 and 1932 show that it was far from wasted.

All signs indicate that, barring a split in the Democratic ranks, the Republicans will be the minority party for a long time. And the greatest danger to the party is still ahead. For seventy-five years the Republicans have dominated the Northern and Eastern States through rotten-borough provisions in the State constitutions which have insured their control of the legislatures regardless of the election of Democratic Governors. This has been the case particularly in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and Illinois. In New York Governor Roosevelt was reelected in 1930 by a plurality of 725,000, yet the Democrats were unable to win either house of the legislature, despite the fact that the total Democratic vote for assemblymen and senators far exceeded the Republican. It is no wonder that Governor Moore in New Jersey is unable to make headway with a reorganization program when the State senate is overwhelmingly Republican by virtue of the present apportionment, which gives each of the twenty-one counties one senator and only one. Hudson and Essex counties, containing nearly half of New Jersey's population, are outvoted nineteen to two in the State senate.

But now the day of retribution has come. So great was the landslide of November 8 that in many Republican States the Democrats carried one or both houses of the legislature in spite of gerrymandering constitutions. An outstanding example is Illinois. The constitution of Illinois provides that there shall be a reapportionment of the legislature every ten years after the federal census. For thirty years this mandate has been contemptuously disregarded by the Republican legislature. For the first time the Democrats are today in full control at Springfield, with Governor-elect Henry Horner of Chicago supported by a legislature Democratic in both branches. Reapportionment will be one of the first tasks of the new administration. At present Cook County, which comprises Chicago, with more than half the State's population has only a third of the representation in either house of the legislature. Judge Horner has declared himself in favor of action to give Chicago proportional representation in the assembly but to fix its representation in the senate permanently at a point below that which would give the city control of that body. He would be unlikely, however, to veto a Democratic bill assuring the new majority party proportional representation in both houses.

The Democratic Governor and legislature of Illinois will also have the opportunity to rearrange the State's Congressional districts to include the two Representatives now elected at large. At present there is a great disproportion in population between Democratic urban and Republican rural districts. Under the recent United States Supreme Court decision, discussed in *The Nation* of November 9, there is nothing to prevent the Democratic legislature from redistricting Illinois to give the advantage to the Democratic urban districts; in fact, if they chose, they could confine all of downstate Republican Illinois within one great Congressional district.

In Michigan the Republican legislature passed—and the Republican Governor Brucker signed—a Congressional reapportionment law frankly embodying the attitude that a voter in the politically doubtful city of Detroit is not entitled to the same voice in Congress as a farmer. This was merely extending a principle long applied in legislative apportioning. With a Democratic administration Wayne County is now in

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a position to make reprisals. In Ohio, during a long succession of Democratic Governors, the Republicans always have retained control of the legislature through the constitutional provision giving one member of the lower house to each small county regardless of population. The Democrats have now won the governorship and apparently both houses of the legislature. It is obvious that the majority will take steps to remedy the present disproportion; and the fact that two Congressmen are now elected at large will provide an additional impetus to action.

The situation in New Jersey, Connecticut, and Rhode Island is hopeless, although all three will have Democratic Governors. In each State the Republicans have permanent control of one branch of the legislature through rotten boroughs. Perhaps the most extreme example of these is in Rhode Island, where two fishing villages can outvote Providence in the senate. On November 8 the Democrats carried the Rhode Island assembly and the Connecticut senate, but lost the New Jersey assembly.

In New York State the Republicans have long sown the wind and they are likely to reap the whirlwind. Secure behind constitutional provisions giving them undisputed control of the assembly, and generally of the senate also, the Republican bosses of the State have blocked progressive legislation more or less successfully for twenty years, despite the efforts of such liberal Democratic Governors as Smith and Roosevelt. This winter, however, the Democrats will control the senate by one vote, and the Republicans will have a bare working majority in the assembly. Reapportionment of the assembly and senate districts has been long delayed, owing to the inability of Democratic Governors and Republican legislatures to reach any agreement. The Republican bills have always contained gerrymanders designed to make certain districts in New York City safe for their party. Now two additional Congressmen are involved, those elected at large on November 8. The Democrats, in control of the governorship and the senate and lacking only two or three votes in the assembly, are in a position to push through their own reapportionment bill.

But the New York Republicans are confronted with an even more serious menace—a State constitutional amendment to eliminate rotten-borough representation altogether and thus abolish Republican legislative rule at Albany for years to come, perhaps permanently. Such an amendment must pass the legislature twice before being voted on by the people, who would almost certainly approve it. It would of course have easy sledding in the senate, and might pass the assembly with the votes of two or three Republicans from city districts. If successful, it would change the whole course of New York political history, and encourage New Jersey, Connecticut, and Rhode Island to attempt similar reforms. The Republicans will fight such an amendment tooth and nail because the very future of the party depends on it. Years ago in Connecticut a Republican was elected Governor on a pledge to carry out this reform, but could do nothing. Boss J. Henry Roraback readily admitted that the State was ruled by a minority, but this, he said, would be of importance only if it could be shown that the minority had ruled unwisely. He himself was convinced that the minority had ruled wisely; therefore, no change was needed. Undoubtedly the argument against an amendment in New York will follow this historic precedent.

Some War-Debt Misconceptions

By MAXWELL S. STEWART

THERE can be little doubt that the resolution adopted by Congress a year ago, in which it opposed cancelation or reduction of the European war debts, represents the opinion of the rank and file of voters throughout the country. The average American is generous enough, but he does not see any good reason why he should tighten his belt any farther in these hard times in order to foot Europe's bill for a war that was distinctly its own making. His views are simple and logical, but there is probably no other political question in which the facts have been so completely obscured by prejudice and misrepresentation. Among the many misstatements which one hears made by people who are ordinarily well-informed, the following five are particularly misleading in their implications:

1. *There is no connection between the war debts and reparations.* Theoretically and legally this is true, but it is a quibble which completely ignores the realities of the situation. Both sets of obligations are the outgrowth of "the war to end war," and from that time until the present the two have been intimately connected in the political arena. As far back as 1919 the claims of the Allied nations for reparation were strongly influenced by the necessity of meeting the war debts. The Dawes Plan and the Young Plan were both drawn up with the American debt payments in mind, while appended to the latter was a protocol, signed by all except the United States, providing for a reduction of German reparations in case of adjustment of payments to the United States. More significant, of course, is the actual financial connection. War-debt payments have been made out of the receipts from reparations, while reparation payments in turn have been made possible by large investments of American capital in Germany. No responsible economist has ever suggested that it could be otherwise, given the commercial barriers which have been erected everywhere against payment in goods and services.

Finally, whether we like it or not, the Lausanne agreement has made the abolition of reparation payments dependent upon our action in regard to the debts. We may refuse to accept the responsibility if we like, but there is nothing to be gained by pretending that Germany will be unaffected by our decision.

2. *The United States has already canceled a large portion of the debts.* The question of what proportion of the debts has already been canceled is largely a matter of definition. From one point of view there has been no cancelation. According to the funding agreements, the principal is to be paid in full with interest. Moreover, since payments are distributed over sixty-two years, the debtors are obliged to pay,

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including interest, a total of $22,200,000,000, or more than twice the amount originally advanced by the United States. However, this again is merely a quibble. In some of the debt-funding agreements the rate of interest charged was so low that one is justified in asserting that a certain portion of the debts *have* been canceled. Over a period of time the collection of a large sum of money at a low rate of interest may be equivalent to the collection of a much smaller sum at a higher rate of interest. The amount of "cancelation" depends, of course, upon what one considers a fair rate of interest. Unfortunately, there is no hard and fast rule which can be applied at this point. Interest rates are determined by conditions on the international money market and vary by a considerable amount from month to month and year to year.

When the loans were first advanced, the interest was fixed at 5 per cent, but in the debt-funding agreements back interest was reduced to 4¼ per cent on part of the debt and to 3 per cent on the remainder. Secretary Mellon on separate occasions defended each of these as a fair rate of interest. It should be noted, however, that the highest rate of interest paid by the United States upon its indebtedness during recent years has been 4¼ per cent, while the most recent long-term issue, floated in September, 1931, bore 3 per cent. On the former basis, the present (capital) value of the debts of the fifteen nations which have concluded funding agreements would be $6,800,000,000, which is over 68 per cent of the money advanced. The futility of placing too much stress on such a figure may be seen, however, when one considers the effect of a slight change in the basis for computation. If we take 3 per cent as a fair rate of interest, the present (capital) value of the obligations as fixed by the funding agreements would be $9,200,000,000, or approximately 91 per cent of the amount advanced; and, what is more to the point, on this basis nine out of fifteen of our debtors have been overcharged.

3. *The United States has already forgiven the war debts and is only seeking to collect the advances made after the Armistice.* This statement is in a sense merely a variant of the one just dealt with, but introduces another common misconception, namely, the size of the post-Armistice loans. Let us glance at the facts. Of the $10,300,000,000 advanced to the Allies during and immediately after the war, over $7,000,000,000 was loaned before November 11, 1918, and only $3,250,000,000 after that date, while the funded war debts have a nominal value of $11,500,000,000, and a present (capital) value, depending on the interest rate used, of from $6,000,000,000 to $9,000,000,000. Moreover, a considerable portion of the post-Armistice loans represents sums advanced to nations which were formed after the war, to enable them to take over surplus stocks of American war materials or, in some cases, to finance the purchase of urgently needed relief supplies. In the case of the former Allies, the chief purpose of the loans was the protection of American manufacturers against the sudden loss of European orders which had previously been contracted. Like practically all the funds advanced by the war loans, the money was spent in the United States to purchase American goods at highly inflated prices, producing one of the highest peaks of "prosperity" ever known in this country.

While it is true that, taken as a whole, the value of the war debts is fully twice that of the post-Armistice loans, it must be remembered that there are wide differences in the debt settlements with the various countries. Yet even with Italy, the country most leniently treated, the present value of the debt settlement on a 3 per cent basis is greater than the amount advanced after the close of the war. France also escaped lightly, but its debt is slightly greater than the post-Armistice advances, even when discounted on a 5 per cent basis.

4. *Europe's ability to pay in full is demonstrated by the fact that the increase in its annual expenditure for armament since 1914 is greater than the total amount of its debt payments.* It is true that practically without exception appropriations for defense have risen since the war, although in no country so much as in the United States. But it is one thing for France and Italy to build a battleship, and a very different thing for one of these countries to obtain the foreign exchange to make payments to the United States. Battleships may be built merely by levying taxes upon the population at large. War-debt payments not only require increased taxation, but also necessitate the transfer of equivalent value to the creditor nation. If the United States were willing to accept paper francs or lira, the problem would be comparatively simple, but in actuality the transfer of value can only be made in one of four ways—by increased exports of commodities, services, gold, or securities. Since the last of these methods only defers the problem and since the amount of "free" gold is limited, this means, in the final analysis, that the debtor must either reduce imports or increase exports of commodities and services.

An increase of exports is only efficacious, however, in case the creditor country is willing to receive payments in increased imports of commodities or services. This was the basis of England's historic free-trade policy. The anachronistic commercial policy of the United States, on the other hand, has consciously sought to limit receipt of such payments by (1) maintaining a high tariff; (2) seeking the expansion of exports; (3) restricting immigration; and (4) subsidizing an uneconomical merchant marine. The day of reckoning was postponed, however, as long as the United States continued to expand its foreign loans. When this means of balancing international payment was suddenly curtailed early in 1929, debtor nations were forced to adopt the only remaining recourse—a reduction in imports—with disastrous repercussions on world trade and on the contents of our pocketbooks.

This does not mean that there is no basis for linking armaments with war debts. In making any final adjustment of the debts the United States might insist upon guaranties that any sums saved the European Powers should not be diverted to battleships and tanks.

5. *The cancelation or reduction of the war debts would greatly increase the burden of the American taxpayer.* There is perhaps more confusion on this point than on any other. While it can scarcely be denied that the cancelation of the debts would throw the cost of interest and amortization payments upon the American Treasury, this burden, with the transfer problem eliminated, would be less than is ordinarily believed. If the payments due in the present fiscal year were to be apportioned equally among the people of the United States, each individual's share would be only $2.20. While this might seem a fairly large amount to several millions of households during these trying times, it should be

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remembered that we are already spending nearly $6 per capita on armaments and somewhat more than that amount on veterans' relief each year. Moreover, the direct loss of revenue resulting from the suspension of debt payments might easily be more than offset by the increase in revenue which would result from improved economic conditions if the debts were to be permanently written off. It is of more than passing significance, for example, that the decline in customs receipts during the past two years, despite the Hawley-Smoot tariff, has been $498,000,000, which is $16,000,000 more than the scheduled debt payments during this period. Moreover, as Sir Walter Layton pointed out recently, the annual loss in the national income of the United States resulting from the depression is far in excess of the capitalized value of the war debts due from all the European Powers.

One must also be on guard against error in the other direction. While there can be little question that a final revision of reparations and war debts is essential to world recovery, it would be folly to assume that there will be a return of prosperity as soon as these problems are permanently disposed of. Revision of the debts is only one step on the path toward economic reconstruction. Likewise it would be a mistake to assume that a solution can be achieved solely on the basis of economic considerations. From the beginning the debts have been more in the field of the politician than of the economist. It is no longer possible, however, to allow an issue of such importance to be determined by the whims of popular prejudice. If our democratic institutions are worth half as much as our leaders profess them to be, there should be a determined attempt to bring the facts before the people so that this important question may be decided on its merits.

Ferment in the Railroad Unions

By H. M. DOUTY

THERE are rather definite indications that this depression marks the end of an era in the history of American trade unionism. The labor movement will never be quite the same again. Against the obstinate and bitter fact of the increasing insecurity of the wage-earner in a highly mechanized, unregulated economy, a narrow labor philosophy formulated in the eighties loses its validity and its appeal. New tactics and a new philosophy for a great social movement are not produced overnight; these things take time. But there are signs of change. The executive council of the American Federation of Labor, responding to pressure from below, has abandoned its historic opposition to unemployment insurance. And when William Green, president of the A. F. of L., suggested before the convention of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor last September that independent political action on the part of labor might become necessary, he was defying a forty-year-old tradition.

The purpose of this article is to examine some of the signs of ferment in an important group of unions. By and large, the twenty-one standard railroad labor organizations represent the most powerful union group in the country. Of the major industries only that of building is more thoroughly organized. Through their various journals and their national weekly, *Labor,* the railroad unions exert wide influence on the formation of labor opinion. It follows, therefore, that their behavior should have marked importance for those interested in the dynamics of the labor movement in the United States.

The current depression has been deeply felt by the railroad workers. Even before the depression the unions were confronted by a growing unemployment problem. In 1929, when railway freight reached a record volume, the reports of the Class I carriers and of fifteen switching and terminal companies to the Interstate Commerce Commission showed an average for the year of 192,000 fewer workers than for 1923. Since 1929 the trend of employment has taken a precipitous downward course. For the month ending August 15, 1932, the Class I carriers employed 996,319 workers, a decline of 763,234, or 54 per cent, from the corresponding period in 1929. Many thousands more are working only part time.

On February 1, 1932, a general wage cut of 10 per cent for railroad employees went into effect. This was a bitter blow to the unions. D. B. Robertson, until recently chairman of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, had said a few months before that "the idea of a wage reduction cannot be tolerated." The cut came, however, along with various explanatory remarks to a rank and file that had been told time and again that wage reductions deepened the depression and made economic recovery more remote. The cut was accepted only after protracted negotiations, and because of the general feeling that it was inevitable under present conditions.

The unions comforted themselves at the time with the thought that the reduction was limited to a period of one year, and that the railroad executives had promised to use the proceeds to provide more employment. More employment was not forthcoming. And it now seems that the wage reduction is to be extended. On October 14, after a series of conferences with a committee representing railroad management, the members of the Railway Labor Executives' Association reversed their previous stand, and agreed to ask their respective unions for power to negotiate on the matter of the extension of the cut. At this writing the exact reasons for this reversal are not clear, but three factors suggest an explanation: (1) the possibility of a larger reduction through proceedings under the Railroad Labor Act of 1926; (2) the desire to preserve basic wage rates by limiting the duration of the reduction; and (3) the chance of obtaining concessions from management.

This hasty survey should show that the problems facing the railroad workers are immediate and pressing. Wages have been reduced; almost half the total number of workers within the industry are without jobs; many of those who have work are not employed full time. Unlike the workers in steel, textiles, mining, and most of our other great industries, the railroad workers have powerful unions. They are able to formulate collective programs and exert collective

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pressure. What measures are they taking to meet the present emergency, and what general significance do these measures have?

The unions have taken a number of noteworthy steps during the past year or two. These steps, in the main, have been dictated by the crisis, although some have a more general origin. In addition, there are certain changes in attitude among the unions which deserve notice.

1. There are twenty-one standard unions within the railroad industry. These unions, representing different crafts, must deal to some extent with different problems. There have been in the past many instances of the separatism and jealousy associated with the craft structure. The action of the transportation brotherhoods in remaining at work during the great shopmen's strike of 1922, for example, is notorious. In recent years, however, an increasing measure of cooperation between the various unions has been apparent, a cooperation exercised through the agency of the Railway Labor Executives' Association. The wage negotiations of last year, writes one railroad labor editor, showed that for the first time in the history of railway labor organizations "the twenty-one standard unions were united upon a national policy involving wages."

2. This united action extends to other matters. Over a period of two years the representatives of the unions have been working out a program of employment stabilization. Although in a sense this program is of interest only to the railroads, its effect, if it can be forced through, will be felt throughout industry. The program includes measures designed to protect the interests of the workers in railroad consolidations, to assure employment to an average work force, and the like. Undoubtedly the chief item, however, is embodied in the Pittman-Crosser six-hour-day bill, introduced in the last session of Congress. The Interstate Commerce Commission has concluded hearings on the proposal and will report its findings to Congress on December 15 of this year. The issue may perhaps play a part in the impending wage negotiations between the unions and the carriers. The unions will unquestionably push the measure. It represents a clear and simple way to relieve partially the terrible burden of railroad unemployment, and it is, moreover, in direct line with the traditional program of American labor.

3. In March of 1932 a federal retirement insurance bill for railroad employees, sponsored by the railroad unions, was introduced in Congress. The measure provides that the cost of this insurance shall be carried jointly by the railroads and the men, and it gives an annuity equal to 2 per cent of the average annual earnings of each employee, upon completion of thirty years' service or upon reaching the age of sixty-five, multiplied by the number of years he has devoted to the service. Phil E. Ziegler, editor of the *Railway Clerk*, writes that "the retirement insurance bill is the first plank in the union program of security for the men and women who devote their lives to the transportation industry—a program which embodies also unemployment insurance, dismissal wage, and [federal] workmen's compensation." (A bill providing federal workmen's compensation was introduced late in the last session of Congress.) The old-age pension measure, if it is enacted into law, will represent a highly significant piece of social legislation. The emphasis upon legislative action and the content of these legislative demands should be noted.

4. Even more indicative of the ferment in the ranks of railroad labor is the bill which was drawn up by the Railway Labor Executives' Association and introduced in Congress by Senator Costigan and Representative La Guardia. This bill would create a corporation, the United States Exchange Corporation, with an initial capital of $500,000,000 provided by Congress and a total revolving fund of credits and capital of $3,000,000,000. Instead of lending money to starving banks and railroads, this corporation would make loans to the unemployed. Credit to the extent of $300 for unemployed persons would be issued, with an additional $100 for each of two dependents. Each unemployed worker taking advantage of the fund would sign a note promising to repay the loan within ten years at a very low rate of interest. This is the plan in bare outline. Its purpose, says Donald Richberg, attorney for the unions, is to place credit "behind purchasing power instead of behind productive power." At a meeting in Cleveland on August 23 and 24, the railroad union heads decided to push the measure in the coming session of Congress. The plan for this United States Exchange Corporation indicates that the railroad unions are trying to exercise some general labor leadership in the present crisis.

5. A rather remarkable manifesto was issued by the Railway Labor Executives' Association at the Cleveland meeting referred to above. The statement called for temporary government control of all railroads, industry, and public utilities. "We advocate a civil mobilization, under civil authority," the statement reads, "to organize our resources for national defense against the destructiveness of present uncontrolled economic forces. . . . It is time to decide that we must use the vast resources of this nation primarily and directly to promote the welfare of the working masses of the nation." The association stated that it called neither for a dictatorship nor for permanent socialization of the industries of the nation.

6. Within the individual unions one finds varying signs of change. In many of the journals, for instance, one discovers a sharper and more militant tone than would have been discernible three or four years ago. But the union which has adopted the most comprehensive and progressive program is the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. At its convention in 1931, the brotherhood called for unemployment and other forms of social insurance, a labor party, nationalization of the railroads and federation of all railroad unions, and other equally forward-looking measures.

Taken together, these activities of the railroad unions are significant, not because the program outlined here is well rounded as a whole or well conceived in all its details, but because something fresh is stirring. The depression has underscored the tragic folly of permitting "uncontrolled economic forces" to dominate our lives. The railroad unions, which are among the strongest units of our pitifully weak labor movement, seem to be breaking the chains which have bound them to an outmoded view of labor progress. The promise is held out of a more fundamental and realistic approach by the union to the problems of our age. "Like all other industries," writes the editor of one railroad labor journal, "the railroads are the victims of economic forces which grow out of the profit system—forces which the owners of industry have neither the wisdom nor the desire to control—and once these forces are let loose they engulf all, the good and the bad, the wise and the ignorant."

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Spinoza: 1632-1932

By BENJAMIN GINZBURG

"TO say the proper thing about Spinoza," wrote Anatole France shortly before his death, "one must recapture the accents of Lucretius when he talks of Epicurus. Spinoza is one of the great heroes of humanity. He has taken away from men the vain fear and the vain hope of being immortal, by making them feel and know that they are eternal." Within the limits of a brief characterization, this statement goes to the heart of Spinoza's historic achievement. Spinoza is, indeed, the great hero of modern thought who showed men how to free themselves from the incubus of a divided conscience by turning the conventional rivalry of religion and science into an opportunity and a challenge for the affirmative, joyful rededication of human values. With bold and direct strokes which still leave the spiritually timid gasping for breath, he swept away the whole structure of the supernatural, recalled the true inwardness of morality and religion, and so joined it with the ideal quest of scientific truth that ethics and science became two phases of a unified and clarified philosophy of life—a philosophy truly worthy of the maturity of human powers.

For this great task Spinoza was singularly equipped both by personal genius and by the historical circumstances of his life and education. Baruch Spinoza came of the stock of "Marrano" Jews, who, in order to escape the wrath of the inquisition in Spain and Portugal, had been forced for more than a century to dissimulate their inherited Judaism under the mask of Catholic observances. Arrived in the free air of Amsterdam, they undertook at once to relearn the ritual and dogmas of their old faith, a task which did not, however, proceed altogether without incident. The tragedy of the Marrano, Uriel da Costa, who had actually held office in the Catholic church and who in his attempts to relearn the ways of Judaism was twice excommunicated by the Jews for heresy, shows how unsettled was the Jewish tradition in the Marrano community of Amsterdam. The shaken character of the tradition explains the bitterness of the community in resorting to excommunication against the youthful Spinoza, heralded by the rabbis as their most brilliant rabbinical student and as "a light of Israel"; but it also helps to explain the still more extraordinary fact, of how Spinoza in the unfolding of his education could so thoroughly have mastered Jewish doctrine and yet have escaped the spiritual astigmatism which every sectarian religion tends to impose. Quite apart from his contact with modern science and philosophy, which imparted method and clarification to his thought, Spinoza represents a unique religious phenomenon, an attempt to see the meaning of religion in its universal essence, free from the distortions of nationalistic creeds and free from the symbols of imagination and myth: this phenomenon is explained—in so far as social circumstances can at all explain the expressions of individual genius—by the peculiar conditions of the Amsterdam Jewish community.

When he was excommunicated by the synagogue, Spinoza declared that the act would not make him do anything but what he had previously determined. Indeed, he spent the rest of his short life in living out as remarkable an epic as any that the annals of philosophy have produced. Socrates at the close of his life died for the truth. But here was a solitary and penniless consumptive philosopher, shunned by the Jews as a black sheep and by the Christians as a Jew and an "atheist," quietly plying a handiwork for a living and living for the truth! It would be easy to develop a myth around Spinoza's person and make him the founder of a new cult, were not all this a betrayal of his fundamental message. It is permissible, however, to call attention to the manner in which the quiet drama of his life found expression in his philosophic work and conspired to make it reach heights which it otherwise would not have attained. Any gifted professor might conceivably have written Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason." But only one so placed as Spinoza by the whole context of his life and intimate personality could have undertaken and carried to completion so stupendous a work as the "Ethics"—"demonstrated in the geometric manner." It is a work truly *sui generis,* attempting as it does to bring together into mathematical rigor and clarity the whole encyclopedia of human thought—metaphysics, physical science, biology, psychology, political and social theory, and finally moral and religious philosophy—all in so far as they bear upon the problem of the practical orientation of one's life and spirit.

We say "attempting to bring into mathematical rigor and clarity," for it has been the misfortune of Spinoza to attract idolatrous followers who take his mathematical form of exposition far more seriously than it deserves and who regard his work as a final bible of philosophy, to be studied with the same mysticism of the letter with which all bibles are studied. In truth, however, not only has Spinoza's mathematical method many grave disadvantages as a formal vehicle of exposition, but it serves also to solidify into a single structure what it is the function of any critical appreciation to break up into two component parts—namely, the fundamental intuition, or enduring message, and the framework of ephemeral historical ideas in which the message is set. A French thinker has ably remarked in this connection that Spinoza's philosophy "is perhaps the sole example of a religious doctrine which remains unshaken after the collapse of the entire metaphysical scaffolding which incases it."

The fundamental moral and religious intuition of Spinoza turns on the fact that what is accomplished by the state with its apparatus of rewards and punishments, and by institutional religion with its apparatus of the supernatural, is a process of the self-education of the human spirit. Most men, says Spinoza, look upon the law as a command from the outside and obey it only to escape punishment or in the hope of gaining a reward. The wise man, however, sees it as an internal necessity of human nature, and obeys it spontaneously and with joy as being in a certain sense his own command. He also sees that in the case of the common man the process of obedience by fear and hope reflects a slow and grudging acceptance of that which he some day will recognize as an internally necessary law.

Now when we pass from the law to the sanctions

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of morality and religion, which especially for the carnal man must promise everlasting celestial rewards and punishments in return for any serious restraints on his worldly pleasures, there, too, Spinoza feels that the movement of supernatural thought, with its series of contracts with hypostasized external gods, really represents a semi-conscious, imaginative process of spiritual self-legislation and education toward generosity. The philosopher, instead of stopping at the stage of conventional religion, where a personal god promises rewards and punishments beyond the grave as a quid pro quo for a moral life in this world, seizes by direct intuition the rhythm and goal of the whole process of religious thought, as the mathematician seizes the law and limit of a mathematical series when enough individual terms are given. There is no external god; there is no life after death; there are no supernatural rewards: God is within us, and virtue is its own reward in the new and more perfect life, the life of eternity it opens to us.

This does not mean that man is his own god or makes his own god, as our contemporary "religious humanists" would like to maintain. Such a proposition would mean falling back upon that biological anthropocentrism, upon that chaotic picture of the universe in terms of individual bodies and self-contained appetites, which even the religious imagination learns gradually to surpass. No; once we have learned, however formally and however partially, to ascend to the level of spiritual activity, we must find ultimate reality not in man and in what is given to the senses, but in the principle of completed being involved in the dialectical unfolding of human experience, in the being which is both in and beyond us but never outside us—in God, "without whom nothing can be, nor be conceived."

Such is Spinoza's much-abused pantheism. Its practical consequence is to make possible a mellow humanism and a mellow naturalism in ethics through emphasizing the immanence of spirituality and idealism in the natural context, where conventional religion, misled by the clumsiness of its imaginative reasoning, substitutes two transcendent worlds, the world of body and the world of spirit. For Spinoza the whole visible world emanates, at different degrees of being and perfection, from the essence of God. Human bodily existence is also in a sense divine, but it is only in the contrast between concrete organic life and the higher but more abstract mental functions that the problem of the progress of being arises, and it is in that locus, through the free legislative powers of the higher faculties, that the problem must be solved. Ethics is not a negation of living, but is a progress to a more abundant life.

With such a conception of ethics and religion, Spinoza's philosophy not only had nothing to fear from science but actually sharpened itself by contact with scientific experience. The side of science that struck Spinoza was the side that had formerly struck Plato, namely, the drive for ideal intelligibility characteristic especially of mathematics but in a larger sense dominating scientific work in general. It is this ideal drive which makes science akin to the other value functions of the human spirit, such as ethics, aesthetics, and religion. So parallel is the rhythm between these activities that Spinoza, whenever he is thinking in ethical terms, has the habit of choosing his illustrations, for the sake of their precision, from mathematics. To illustrate the pure movement of ethical spirituality which absorbs itself selflessly in its object, he uses the example of the mathematician, to whom the relations of simple numbers are given in a flash without the mediation of deductive reasoning.

But what about the concept of blind, static matter on which modern physical science has erected such a cold and cheerless conception of the universe? On this point the definitive answer of Spinoza was never given in his works, and it doubtless needed the reflective criticism of a Kant before the answer could be made completely clear. For Kant it was who, coming after the full crystallization of modern scientific method, first showed that physical science does not and cannot give the final laws of the universe, but represents a progressive application of rational hypothesis to the phenomena as presented in human sense-experience—in other words, that the laws of science in regard to sense-experience are analogous to the moral commands which man imposes upon and adapts to the organization of his desires. This answer is, however, implicit in Spinoza's conception of intellectual truth and of ultimate reality. The truth that the system of science expresses is a partial and abstract intellectual effort applied to a reality which is in itself a partial manifestation of an ultimate principle. The system of science is both objectively and subjectively a revelation of God and God's laws, but precisely because it is partial it cannot be exhaustive and exclusive: the being of God supports other values and other quests equally with science.

It is perhaps here, in the insistence of Spinoza that we should be able to move from science to ethics and from ethics to science as from truth to truth, that lies the greatest application of Spinoza's philosophy to the problems of today. In the present turmoil of Western civilization it has become increasingly obvious that there is something wrong with our frenzied cultivation of physical science and technology. But instead of realizing that there is nothing wrong with science and technology in themselves, nay, that they provide for the first time in history the possibilities of a clarified philosophy and a rational economic organization of society, many are raising voices of revolt against science and the "machine age" and would lead us back to medievalism and to the so-called "spiritualism" of the East. As if a true and balanced spiritualism could long maintain itself without a science to clarify the mind and machines to feed the body!

At the other extreme are those who, in their concentration upon an immediate social program, are ready to conceive of society and man as so much inanimate material to be molded by a mechanico-technical experiment. They forget that there would be no need and no reason to make that experiment if man were merely passive clay; and that the very aspiration for reform presupposes the freedom of the spirit as the ultimate aim of all progress and as the source of idealism and intelligence which makes that progress possible.

Given the complex nature of man, which makes him a biological organism with exclusive appetites, a mind capable of science and ideals, and withal a unity of body and mind, it is only by distinguishing and consciously harmonizng the various orders of human existence and the various functions of his mental outlook that he can hope to make intelligent progress and not be wrecked by the very wealth and abundance of his talents. In searching for the way to that progress we may still utilize those marvelous philosophic lenses which the solitary Spinoza ground at The Hague well-nigh three centuries ago.

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Is It Fun to Be Hungry?

By JESSIE R. McALLISTER

I THINK it was a Texas newspaperman who wrote an editorial entitled I Like the Depression which has been widely quoted in the press. This man—evidently in better than average circumstances, one of the well-to-do in his city before the depression—has tried very hard to make a silken purse of philosophy from a sow's ear of utter and appalling misery. He says he really and truly likes the depression. He says he wants no more prosperity. He says he has had more fun since the depression started than ever before in his life.

Is he hungry? Is he alone? Is he cut off from all the associations he knew? Is he completely out of the line of business he was trained for? Have his children seen first one comfort and then another pass from their daily life? Has the bank, where for years he deposited that weekly pay check, closed its doors? Apparently not. He still holds the same position on a newspaper that he has held for years. He still lives in the same house, sees the same friends, moves in the same old familiar circles. And he is having more fun than ever before in his life.

Is it fun to be hungry? Is it fun to lose your home, your furniture, your pictures and books and dishes? Is it fun to begrudge every cent spent for things one cannot eat and learn that cleanliness is not next to godliness but a luxury reserved in these days only for the folks with jobs?

This man who likes the depression says he has found out what it means to have real friends. We, too, have friends. Even without our material possessions, without any outward semblance of prosperity, we still have friends. They are those faithful ones who see us, talk with us, write to us, believe in us, cheer us, even help us a little unless they are themselves in need of help. He has time now, he says, for his friends. We have time, too. We are rich in time. There are always twenty-four hours in the day. We sleep from six to eight hours, if the restless tossing which fills our nights can be called sleep. We fill in another eight hours with something—anything. If we are women, we sew, we cook, we clean, we talk. If we are men, we smoke and talk. Somehow we while away the hours we formerly lavished, like drunken spendthrifts, on work. The other eight hours of the long, long day are those normally assigned to play. But real play demands a care-free mind. How can we play when we do not work? Read, you say? Oh yes, gladly, if we could afford a newspaper. Magazines? We cannot even have a nickel weekly, much less any of the monthlies we used to buy. Nowadays we filch magazines from rubbish cans. Mussed, dirty, old, they fill those long, monotonous evening hours. Books are beyond our reach.

The man from Texas says he has time now to visit his friends. We don't do any visiting. No one welcomes two adults and three small children, not even to spend a few hours. Week-end trips or vacations are not for us. Our relatives write to us. They seem to remember us, but they extend no invitations for visits. Poor things, they probably fear we might forget to go home again. We entertained freely in the old days. Now all the people we know are too uncertain about the contents of their own larder to share it with us or anyone like us.

Our newspaperman says that he has made new friends. We, too, have met new people. The friendly splendid woman who operates the local charity office knows us. She is our friend. We need none better. But she has met us at our worst. She never saw us prosperous, successful, unworried. She never saw me with my hair waved, in a becoming dress, with a nice hat; and that rankles in my mind.

Best of all, this man who says he likes the depression tells us he has found out what it means to eat common everyday food. Caviar and hummingbirds' tongues! Does his table these days boast of soup, vegetables, fruits, milk, as well as flesh and fowl? Ours certainly does not. If we have soup we have no meat. If we have vegetables we have no fruit. If we have meat we have nothing else. Common food! How I wish we could be sure of common food, three times every day as far into the future as our minds can travel! Has he ever been given a grocery order, on one certain store, for ten dollars' worth of food with the instruction that that was all he could have for thirty long days? Has he ever tried to obtain with that sum food enough to nourish two adults and three growing children?

And he says he is beginning to love his neighbor. He becomes facetious and casually mentions his neighbor's good-looking wife. At least he has not lost his sense of humor. Our attraction for our neighbor, either her husband or his wife, has become somewhat dimmed by these last nightmare years. Even our attraction for each other has changed. Sexual feeling dies when a man and a woman are hungry, when they watch their children grow thin and pale.

He says his wife has dropped her clubs and he no longer plays golf on Sunday. He says he has not bought a suit of clothes in two years. He says that when he is dressed up these days, he feels dressed up. We agree with him there. It's a great treat for me to put on my two-year-old blue chiffon dress, the only real frock I have left. It still looks modern. And my husband is a new man when he dons the gray suit we have saved from the wreck. But it's our daily appearance that worries us. A pair of shears, much needlework, constant cutting down and patching keep us covered at least. I have not entered the doors of a department store since last Christmas. Shoes are our greatest clothing problem. The children go barefoot, even to school. But our grown-up feet cannot stand that hardship; we have worn shoes for too many years. My poor arches ache in the run-down shoes which are all I have. My husband limps around with one heel gone and soles almost through.

Perhaps the man from Texas would not like the depression so much if it had placed him where it has us. Down, down, down, to a point where we have a roof over our heads only through the kindness of an individual; food on our table only through the generosity of a city and a county; the clothes on our backs only through the pity of friends and acquaintances; while we—two able-bodied, educated, ambitious American citizens, sit idle, doing nothing.

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Behind the Cables

By E. D. H.

Paris, October 30

IT is too, too funny that Herriot, the Big Brother of the Boche, thought that he was going to put one over on his General Staff, the boss of which is that extremely adept soldier-politician and Bolshevik-killer, General Weygand. Herriot, who let the Germans off reparations, really wanted to do something—a little—about disarmament, and thus go down in history as the only Frenchman who ever forgot that he was a Frenchman.

HERRIOT AND THE GENERAL STAFF

One of the vainest and most emotional men of recent times, Herriot's ego has lately been almost comparable with Ramsay MacDonald's. It took some hard work by Weygand to put him straight. The General Staff, which is the most powerful body in France next to the Banque de France, far more powerful than the Cabinet, began to work on him by sending a general of division commanding the area of Lyons, Herriot's home town, around to him at odd hours of day and night, each time with new and horrifying details of an alleged plan whereby the Italian attack on France, when it came, allied with the German, would center on Lyons first of all, blowing Lyons up in smoke, gas, and ashes before M. Herriot could even get out of bed. Also, Weygand is said to have threatened to resign rather than let Herriot present his original disarmament plan. Léon Blum, the Socialist leader who has supported Herriot so far in the Chamber, cried holy murder, but it was no use. Weygand could not possibly be allowed to quit. And the revised French plan which the deputies approved is something to make the mind reel.

The French have a perfectly good case. One might sketch it as follows: They think that the policy of conciliation, as represented by the Locarno treaties, the evacuation of the Rhine, and the later musings of M. Aristide Briand, has completely failed, as indeed it has. They also think, and are possibly right in so thinking, that a rearmed Germany will lead to war. This makes a dreadful dilemma. What to do? The new Herriot plan, one more item in the perennial struggle to get some sort of compromise between disarmament and security, is complex and rather unreal; if it fails, as it probably will, the French are likely to withdraw from the dilemma altogether and simply recede to a take-it-or-leave-it policy. France will not disarm one breath without ample international guaranties. All France has done for five years is give things up and it will not give up anything more. Give the Germans reparations and they demand rearmament. Give them rearmament and they will demand the Corridor. Very well, let the whole mess drop, play safe, and revert frankly to pre-war notions of balance of power.

NO MORE LOCARNO

Unilateral denunciation of treaties, think the French, is getting to be just a bit of a bore. Suppose Spain should suddenly decide to demand Cuba back from the United States! The French have submitted to a permanent numerical inferiority in one branch of warfare, that is, by accepting the 1:75 naval ratio vis-a-vis America and Britain. Why cannot the Germans accept a similar proportionate inferiority? Are the Germans to get back all they lost simply by asking for it? If they object to the Treaty of Versailles, why did they sign it in the first place? What was the use of winning the war anyway? The really terrible part of all this is that it represents the spirit-will of a nation ethnically desperate. France has to face the worst problem in the world, that of adjusting itself to what eventually must be permanent inferiority to Germany.

There is a good deal of talk these days about "sample weapons," and I gather that the next German move toward rearmament, if and when it comes, will be the inclusion in the budget of appropriations for *one* tank, *one* machine-gun, and *one* fighting airplane. This idea was suggested to Hitler some time ago by an American correspondent in Berlin, and to Von Bülow, the permanent head of the Foreign Office, by a British busybody-publicist. It is a clever way to force a showdown but from the point of view of general diplomatic morality very, very shady.

François-Poncet, the very competent French ambassador in Berlin, is adding his meed of distressing news: the word is going around that he will presently give up his embassy. It is said in Paris, but I am not in a position just now to vouch for it, that he has been received the past few times in an utterly empty room, devoid of even one chair, and that as he stood, Schleicher in full uniform and all the glory of clanking saber and soft-gold epaulettes came in with Neurath and watched, silently, as Neurath handed the French ambassador the documents he had been summoned to receive. Neurath, of course, is the Foreign Minister. Schleicher had no business there. But Schleicher is the boss.

SCHLEICHER IS THE BOSS

Herriot's visit to Spain was a scramble for an ally. For years the General Staff has wanted an agreement with Madrid for transport of French troops from North Africa across Spain in the event of a Mediterranean blockade, and for neutralization of the Balearics, or even their occupation by the French, if a Franco-Italian war should come. Spain was flattered by Herriot's visit, and there was a good deal of talk on these topics but, so far as I am aware, no actual written agreement. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that for the first time the Balearics are to be fortified.

The unpleasant business of cold cash is impeding the preliminary negotiations for a very important international conference, I hear from Geneva. The World Economic Conference, to the intense discomfiture of the League, is to be held in London. But it is to be held under League auspices and, horrible to relate, with the League paying the bill, that is, the extra expenses caused by moving the secretariat and its files and dossiers from Geneva. Usually the inviting country in a case like this goes fifty-fifty on expenses. This the British have so far refused to do. The difference will cost the League about $150,000, and the League doesn't like it a little bit. But Mr. Ramsay MacDonald needs all the gold at home in these violent, gloomy days.

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In the Driftway

THROUGH the simple, and inexcusable, mistake of writing castor oil when he meant cod-liver oil, the Drifter has discovered two new classifications among his readers—young mothers and the Children's Bureau. The young mother who springs to the defense of cod-liver oil is philosophical and reminiscent, and a little double-edged as well. She writes:

> DEAR DRIFTER: Other times other customs. But along with other young mothers I protest that we feed infants not castor oil daily but cod-liver oil. It is true, however, that cod-liver oil is not generally considered more palatable than castor oil. Still, I always thought a "pleasant taste" was subjective and lay in our own attitude rather than in some objective pleasantness of the thing itself. I recall that my own reaction to cod-liver oil when I first had it as a child of nine was largely influenced by hearing my mother tell all listeners that the poor child had to take cod-liver oil.
>
> The current determination to administer cod-liver oil with a smile is of course humorous because of the inward shuddering of the smiling mother. But at least it gives the child a chance to like it if he wants to. My own one-year-old accepts his with as much pleasure as his stewed fruit. Whether this lack of discrimination will be corrected when he is of an age to understand the comments of observing adults I cannot say. I can only say I envy him his ability to find pleasure in something that present medical opinion makes it convenient to like.
>
> MARJORIE OLSON JOHNSON

* * * * *

ON behalf of the Children's Bureau, Mrs. Elisabeth Shirley Enochs writes the following protest against the Drifter's careless words:

> DEAR DRIFTER: I am glad to set your mind at rest about the matter of administering castor oil to infants. The reference to our bulletin, "Infant Care," in *The Nation* of October 26 lies before me. But the instructions regarding the mother's facial expression were not for castor oil but cod-liver oil, which should be given throughout the first two years of the child's life. Most babies accept it and grow to like it as they do other foods. In fact, cod-liver oil is considered such an indispensable food that it is being specially recommended for children during this period of depression, as you will see from the inclosed leaflet, "Emergency Food Relief and Child Health."
>
> I do hope your readers will not be left with the impression that the Children's Bureau advocates daily doses of castor oil for babies!

The Drifter takes his medicine with a pleasant face. Moreover, he has read the leaflet carefully, and he hopes his readers will have copies of it sent to all the relief agencies they know about. He would recommend sending it to poor mothers as well, but he is afraid that the $7.50 to $10 which is set down in it as the minimum weekly cost of an adequate diet, exclusive of cod-liver oil, for a family of five might seem like a cruel joke to the thousands who are living on half that sum or less. It would be better, on the whole, to send it to every member of Congress.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Making the Tariff "Effective"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In *The Nation* of September 28 you make the statement (anent Mr. Roosevelt's vague proposals for assisting the farmer): "How any tariff on agricultural products which we export on net balance can possibly be made effective we are not told." Surely *The Nation* knows quite well that in many parts of the world tariffs *are* made effective under such conditions. One notable instance is the butter industry in Australia, where the local price is held at about 6 cents a pound, plus exchange bounty, above the London price, despite the fact that over one-third of the output is exported. (In the 1931-32 season over half the total production was sent abroad.) Farmers, manufacturers, and distributors entered into a voluntary agreement from January 1, 1926, to pay a levy on all butter produced, the proceeds to be applied in payment of a bounty on export. The tariff on New Zealand butter—shades of Ottawa!—had to be raised to 12 cents a pound to make the arrangement watertight. Of course the scheme will break down if the export proportion increases very considerably, but in seven years it has put millions into the pockets of farmers, mortgagees, cooperatives, and private traders, as those consumers know whose incomes are not adjusted—except perhaps downward—in accordance with cost-of-living indexes.

W. MILLAR SMITH

Auckland, New Zealand, October 24

[In cases of the type cited by Mr. Smith it is of course the export bounty, not the tariff, that is "effective."—EDITOR THE NATION.]

Manchuria's Foreign Trade

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the article Japan Defies the World, in *The Nation* of October 19, there were certain generalizations which do not tally with the actual facts. The article refers to the drop in Manchuria's foreign trade. While the trade statistics of Manchuria as a whole are not available up to the present, the following official figures for traffic through the port of Dairen, where more than half of the Manchurian foreign trade is handled, may be significant:

		(Silver)
Imports:	1932 from March to August, total	$97,000,000
	1931 from March to August, total	50,700,000
	Increase from March to August, total	$46,300,000
Exports:	1932 from March to August, total	$143,900,000
	1931 from March to August, total	103,200,000
	Increase from March to August, total	$40,700,000

The total increase in the Dairen commerce between March and August of this year compared with the corresponding period of last year is $87,000,000 (silver). Several nations, notably Great Britain, increased their trade with Manchuria. Increases went to those countries which increased their purchases of Manchurian exports, and also to countries which went off the gold standard.

The violent fluctuation of Manchurian currencies is noth-

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ing new. Indeed, one of the many grievances of native residents of Manchuria and of Japanese against the former war-lord regime has been the circulation of an almost unlimited amount of irredeemable paper money of varying denominations based on various standards. The new Manchukuo regime has already redeemed through the Central Bank $40,000,000 worth of odd notes and will have redeemed all within two years. A single standard has been established and currency is issued only through the Central Bank of Manchukuo. Under the old regime individual banks were privileged to issue currency at random. The money is based on the silver yuan of 23.91 grams of pure silver.

New York, November 10 T. Scott Miyakawa

The Closing of the Bauhaus

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: "At any rate the Nazis appear to be displaying a sound instinct," says Douglas Haskell in his article on the closing of the Bauhaus in your issue of October 19. With this statement anyone genuinely interested in architecture *per se* should heartily agree. If architectural education is of any importance at all, is there any reason for the continued existence of a so-called school of architecture devoted to the cult of the ugly? The simple-minded Nazis are patriotic if nothing else and no doubt view with alarm the prospect of the havoc which might be wrought in their picturesque towns and villages by widespread construction of such buildings as are likely to be produced by the graduates of the Bauhaus. "The superior art of perfect proportion" of the new school as displayed in their buildings is no more art than that a child might display in knocking a board off the side of a goods box to make a continuous window along the side. "The absolutely competent grasp of functions" is illustrated by the occasional use of a toothpick column to support projecting concrete floors or slabs; sometimes a corner or a whole end of the second story overhangs the wall below by a seemingly impossible distance, apparently for no other reason than to puzzle people who are ignorant of the wonders that can be accomplished by the use of expensively designed reinforced concrete.

According to Mr. Haskell, "the technique or manner it [the Bauhaus] has helped to foster is one that appeals, paradoxically, to those mutual opponents, the leaders of the massed workingmen and the aristocrats of wealth. For the pudgy-fudgy middle class . . . it can have little appeal." While the aristocrats of great wealth of the eighteenth century were building their Blenheims, the middle classes were building houses that are still distinguished for their good taste and general excellence of design. And many people, remembering Leonardo, Rembrandt, Galileo, Newton, Faraday, Einstein, and some others, are not convinced that the squeezing out of the middle class would contribute to the advancement of civilization.

Washington, November 10 B. C. Flournoy

Help Prevent War!

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Because you printed Romain Rolland's presidential address at the Amsterdam meeting of the World Congress Against War, the American committee for this congress asks the courtesy of your columns to tell readers of *The Nation* what this movement is doing. The August conference was attended by over 2,000 delegates from 29 countries, all representing a wide variety of political, social, and religious outlook but united in an enthusiastic determination to oppose the impending world massacre. The thirty-two delegates from America included Sherwood Anderson, Henry W. L. Dana, Elisabeth Gilman, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Scott Nearing, as well as workers from transport and metal industries and ex-servicemen. A permanent international committee, of which Henri Barbusse is secretary, was set up with headquarters in Paris. A manifesto was issued containing an analysis of the international war situation and a pledge of unity and unrelenting struggle, in all countries simultaneously, against the imperialist war now preparing.

The American committee plans to publish the manifesto and general report of the congress; to route speakers and organizers to principal cities; to create a network of local committees affiliated with hundreds of special committees of trade unionists, veterans' organizations, literary groups, women's organizations, physicians' groups, etc. The immediate need is to print the manifesto and report, and distribute them widely. For this funds are required. That the necessary sum may be raised, friends are asked to send checks payable to A. A. Heller, treasurer, American Committee for the World Congress Against War, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Brooklyn, November 1 Henry Neumann

In Spite of the Straw Ballots

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Knowing that you will be interested, I am writing to explain why Pennsylvania was in the Hoover column, despite the straw ballots.

Those who answered the various postcard polls did not have to pay a poll tax. Those who went on election day to cast their vote were disfranchised if they had not paid a poll tax within two years. Now the truth seems to be that possibly 300,000 voters in Pennsylvania had been impoverished by Coolidge-Hoover policies to a point where they were unable to pay their tax. So they could not vote. If similar legislation could have been enacted in other States, no doubt Hoover would have been triumphantly reelected by those who still have money and think it "might have been worse."

Pittsburgh, November 14 George Seibel

Contributors to This Issue

Jessie R. McAllister was in business with her husband until the depression compelled them to give it up. She is now trying to make a living by free-lance writing.

Orville Welsh is on the staff of the New York *News*.

Maxwell S. Stewart, author of "The Inter-Allied Debt: An Analysis," is an economist on the staff of the Foreign Policy Association.

H. M. Douty was formerly a member of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and at present is a regular contributor to their journal, the *Railway Clerk*.

Benjamin Ginzburg is the author of "The Adventure of Science."

Ernest Sutherland Bates is coauthor of "Mary Baker Eddy."

C. Hartley Grattan is the author of "The Three Jameses."

Kenneth Burke is the author of "Counterstatement."

Morton Dauwen Zabel, professor of English literature at Loyola University, is one of the editors of *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*.

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Books, Music, Drama

Shadows of Leaf

By RUTH LECHLITNER

Shadows of leaf, black bough and stone,
Ghost-cousins to the friendly dust,
With long and lacing fingers bind
More firmly than the strength of bone
The shape of beauty to the mind.

Prisoned by flesh, we cannot think
How song curves naked from the throat
Of sharp wind blowing; how the bright
And crescent lips of flowers drink
The warm blood in the veins of light.

Rarely beyond the actual flame,
Beneath the surface pools of form
Dare the bound senses blindly leap,
Nor call by any other name
The Dream that patterns half our sleep.

Our Superstitious Education

Education and the Modern World. By Bertrand Russell. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.50.

SINCE the appearance of Mr. Russell's "Education and the Good Life" five years have passed. In those years Mr. Russell has been conducting an experimental school, and applying the courageous theories in that volume. This experience, one would suppose, would cause him to alter some of his previous opinions. He has doubtless done so; but it is difficult to say exactly where that alteration has taken place. Conservatives would like to be told that experience has compelled him to recede from his extreme position on liberty for the child and complete access to sexual knowledge. His opinions regarding the latter are, however, more decided and outspoken, if anything, than in the earlier volume. On the question of freedom in general, Mr. Russell does, it is true, point to certain necessary limitations, some of which were no doubt suggested by his experience as a teacher. The teacher or parent must insist on a certain minimum of personal cleanliness, on punctuality, honesty, and even on the importance of routine. The last is necessary if only to save the child from nervous exhaustion. "Adventurousness and courage are highly desirable qualities, but they are most easily developed against a background of fundamental security." Disciplinarians should extract as much comfort from these concessions as they can; they are unlikely to derive much from passages like the following:

> There should be no enforced respect for grown-ups, who should allow themselves to be called fools whenever children wish to call them so. We cannot prevent our children from thinking us fools by merely forbidding them to utter their thoughts; in fact, they are more likely to think ill of us if they dare not say so. Children should not be forbidden to swear—not because it is desirable that they should swear, but because it is desirable that they should think it does not matter whether they do or not, since this is a true proposition.

While the present work is essentially a restatement not only of Mr. Russell's views on education but incidentally of his broader social philosophy, it is never a mere repetition. Mr. Russell has too rich a mind for that. It is not merely that he is able to state his views with an apparently inexhaustible aphoristic freshness; he is constantly examining new phases of a subject and developing unexpected implications.

He opens the present volume by discussing the problem of whether education should train good individuals or good citizens. His own opinion is that the antithesis is not a false one—that there is, for example, such a thing as the good of the individual as distinct from a little fraction of the good of the community. A certain amount of training in citizenship is necessary for social cohesion and cooperation, but such training is not free from grave dangers: "Citizens as conceived by governments are persons who admire the status quo and are prepared to exert themselves for its preservation." If training in citizenship is in any way shortsighted, therefore, it will stunt the individual in order to make him a convenient tool of government.

In succeeding chapters Mr. Russell goes on to discuss education in relation to heredity, the herd, religion, sex, patriotism, class feeling, communism, and propaganda. His final summary is hardly reassuring:

> At present the various factors we have been considering all tend towards social disaster. Religion encourages stupidity, and an insufficient sense of reality; sex education frequently produces nervous disorders, and where it fails to do so overtly, too often plants discords in the unconscious which make happiness in adult life impossible; nationalism as taught in schools implies that the most important duty of young men is homicide; class feeling promotes acquiescence in economic injustice; and competition promotes ruthlessness in the social struggle. Can it be wondered at that a world in which the forces of the state are devoted to producing in the young insanity, stupidity, readiness for homicide, economic injustice, and ruthlessness—can it be wondered at, I say, that such a world is not a happy one?

But this passage is far from reflecting the tone of the book as a whole. Mr. Russell has for the most part abandoned the Miltonic eloquence that he put into "A Free Man's Worship" nearly thirty years ago; his prose now is distinguished by a dry, cool irony, and one of his deadliest weapons is understatement. He describes our present institutions and opinions usually with the aloof detachment of an anthropologist describing the habits and superstitions of savages. And by so doing he makes us feel, more keenly, perhaps, than does any other writer of our age, how close we still are to the savage state, how many of our deepest convictions are really superstitions and nothing more. And he produces this effect, not primarily by denouncing these beliefs, but by asking quietly, as he comes to each one, what reason there is for supposing it to be true. It may seem like an innocent habit. It is really the most subversive and devastating of all habits.

HENRY HAZLITT

Southern Liberalism

Liberalism in the South. By Virginius Dabney. University of North Carolina Press. $3.50.

IN 1925, when the Ku Klux Klan was sweeping the South, it received its first check in North Carolina, where the president of the State university, Harry W. Chase, succeeded in defeating an anti-evolution bill in the legislature. When it was pointed out to him that this might endanger the university's appropriations, he replied: "If this university doesn't stand for anything but appropriations, I, for one, don't care to be con-

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nected with it." Since that time the University of North Carolina, then almost unknown, has risen in importance until today it has not only wrested the educational leadership of the South from the University of Virginia, but it is generally recognized, both at home and abroad, as one of the most influential institutions in the whole country. This result has been achieved in large part through the aggressive policy of the University Press, which has set a new standard in educational publications by eschewing the traditional source studies and other banalities dear to academic hearts and allowing the able scholarship of the faculty free play in dealing with living social problems. In its long list of valuable treatises on one or another phase of American culture, none has been more thorough, more stimulating, or more fearless than its most recent, "Liberalism in the South," by Virginius Dabney.

While throughout his book the author keeps close to the theme announced in his title, the largeness of his theme enables him to write what is almost a cultural history of the South. Liberalism he defines in Lord Morley's words as "respect for the dignity and worth of the individual." Thus interpreted, its ramifications extend from politics to economics, religion, education, and art. All these fields are treated by Mr. Dabney with a cool intelligence and absence of sectional feeling which are worthy of the highest praise. It would be impossible to tell from a reading of the book whether its author were a Southerner or a Northerner.

The first half of the volume, dealing with the ante-bellum period, necessarily covers familiar ground. At the outset the figure of Jefferson dominates the entire scene. Thrice he all but prevented the Civil War: first, when he sought to incorporate an attack on the slave trade in the Declaration of Independence; again, when he introduced a bill in the Virginia assembly abolishing slavery in that State; finally, when his program for the Northwest Territory, which would have forbidden slavery in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, was defeated by a single vote. In the field of religious toleration and popular education Jefferson was, of course, equally eminent. Mr. Dabney traces with care the transference of power from Virginia to South Carolina, and the gradual rise of pro-slavery sentiment, which came to a head between 1830 and 1840 largely because of the vituperative tactics of the Abolitionists. Here he is particularly good in further demolishing the waning myth of plantation aristocracy, although he does full justice to the political ability of the small ruling class. The widespread practice of secret miscegenation he regards as of greater moment than the occasional cruelty of the slave-owners, although he shows no disposition to minimize the latter.

In the post-bellum period his story becomes more complicated. Despite the prominence of "unreconstructed" Southerners, the wonder is—considering the horrors of Sherman's march to the sea, of Sheridan's devastation of the Shenandoah Valley, and, above all, of the Republican military occupation—that the South recovered from sectional hostility as quickly as it did. But the new issues that have arisen have been almost as tormenting. The rise of the poor-white farmers to power in 1890, while in one way a gain for liberalism, was followed by an orgy of lynching, by the election of political demagogues to office, and by the dominance of fundamentalist ecclesiasticism. These conditions still hold: lynchings have become more sadistic; the quality of Southern office-holders has not improved; the anti-Smith vote of 1928 was, as is evident today, not the result of prohibition enthusiasm but of religious intolerance. Economically, Gastonia, Marion, Scottsboro, and Harlan County, Kentucky, tell the same tale of a judiciary under the control of a reactionary capitalism. On the other hand, the growth of liberal newspapers in the South, improvements in education, and the social criticism of the new school of Southern writers enable Mr. Dabney to end his book on a note of hope.

By and large, "Liberalism in the South" is the story of a long, heroic, and largely unavailing struggle of the enlightened few against the unenlightened many. To the old-fashioned Southerner the book will be infuriating. To those of a more radical political faith than Mr. Dabney's it will seem another proof of the inherent inability of liberalism to understand or control the sources of political power. But he will be a very prejudiced critic, of whatever school, who will deny the great merits of the book in its own field of history.

ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES

Frank Norris

Frank Norris. By Franklin Walker. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

THIRTY years after his death Frank Norris has been adjudged worthy of a biography. At least two of his novels give promise of being of importance to American readers for many years to come, and also have an excellent chance of becoming classics—"McTeague" and "The Octopus." When his work was collected in ten sumptuous volumes a few years ago, it was perfectly apparent that it was a pious but futile gesture, for volume after volume had to be filled with pretty sorry stuff and introduced by writers whose good nature triumphed over criticism. Norris was not a writer who pursued a single, undeviating line, and while out of the ruck of stuff he wrote in his few years of production two and possibly three books (the third book is "Vandover and the Brute") strike one today as important, they are imbedded in a mass of what must be called trash.

Franklin Walker is, of course, in the difficult position of a man who must do the best possible by his subject. He is therefore not able to take a thoroughly critical attitude toward Norris's work. To be sure, he is aware of Norris's lapses, but he tries to convince himself and the reader that Norris was pretty much of a piece, whereas the facts clearly show that he was made up of warring elements. There is no way under heaven, except by the use of Procrustean methods, of fitting Norris into any neat formula. Mr. Walker tells us how Norris absorbed certain interests and prejudices from his mother—apparently a charming and forceful woman—which led him as a youngster fairly to drown himself in Froissart and medieval romance. In the light of his important work, this strikes one as an aberration, and certainly Norris was never greatly helped by having gone through such a fever of interest in the distant past. This interest accounts for the absurd and incongruous ending of "McTeague." Contrary to the dogmatic statement of that great dogmatist Ludwig Lewisohn, Norris did not discover Zola in Paris. He did not come to Zola until late in his career at the University of California. And between Froissart and Zola he had attacks of Kipling and Richard Harding Davis. Even after Zola he was capable of writing Davis stuff for the *Wave,* and by mixing Zola and Kipling he wrote some rubbish about the abysmal brute in man, about he-men and she-women, which definitely anticipated the themes Jack London was to exploit much more successfully and with greater justification.

Norris was a charming fellow and seemingly the best-looking writer America has ever produced. Of that Mr. Walker leaves no doubt. But he leaves equally little doubt of the fact that Norris was not a man of intellect; he was rather a man of feelings, of enthusiasms. He dashed off most of his stuff at white heat, the one notable exception being "A Man's Woman," which he would have been well advised to ditch entirely. He even worked all the months necessary to prepare and write "The Octopus" in a fever of enthusiasm. Born in Chicago in 1870, the son of a successful wholesale jeweler and a retired actress, he was taken as a child to California, attended

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art school in Paris, the University of California, and Harvard. He saw the Jameson Raid in South Africa and the Spanish War in Cuba. For a while he did miscellaneous journalism in San Francisco, and for a shorter period he worked at the same task in New York. He was a reader for Doubleday, Page for a few years, and at the time of his death, October 25, 1902, he was just tasting success as a writer. He was also, I think (Mr. Walker disagrees), on his way to "respectability," for "The Pit" points in that direction rather than to the production of more books like his best.

Even granting that much interesting material about him was lost in the San Francisco fire, the fact remains that he is not a good subject for straight biographical treatment. Mr. Walker has done his job competently, but it is rather obvious that a better book would have resulted had a cleverer man handled the materials or had a discerning critic combined biography and criticism in equal parts. Under the latter handling not only would Norris's true importance have emerged more clearly, but we should have learned more about the strategically important period in which he lived.

C. Hartley Grattan

Belief and Art

Experience and Art. By Joseph Wood Krutch. Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. $2.50.

ONE who has read Mr. Krutch's "The Modern Temper" before reading his newest volume, "Experience and Art," must be struck by an interesting change in the critic's point of view. The earlier book was built around the thesis that poetry is dying because "poetic illusions" are dying. The author held that certain beliefs are inherently "poetic," and that, since we can no longer believe these "poetic" beliefs (as the belief that the world is the center of the universe), the very basis of poetic dignity is destroyed. In contrast with this attitude he now says, in his Introduction to his newest volume: "Whatever man is capable of believing is potential material for literature." And his volume is built around the ramifications deducible from this shift in position. He relates art to life by showing that art utilizes for its effects the same "premises" as people live by, that the artist moves his readers by exploiting the convictions and preferences which influence their conduct in actual life. Hence, the rise of different schools which stress different aspects of "consciousness" can determine "to a far greater extent than is generally realized both how people are going to act and what . . . it is going to feel like to live." And by this schema, it is generally the work of the literary critic to study the processes of literary appeal and to orientate these with reference to other biological or social processes.

Mr. Krutch tends to situate the appeal of a work in its arousing and satisfying of desires: "In Hamlet—as in any great work of art—emotional anticipations are always satisfied and each hunger we are led to feel is immediately fed." Or again: "Each individual work undertakes to satisfy the emotional anticipation which the spectator is encouraged to entertain." Naturally, in keeping with this, he stresses the fact that the artist works in a kind of "syllogistic" medium, for the artist can only lead people to "emotional anticipations" by working on the basis of the things they already believe and the attitudes they already hold. When you count up to nine, ten is "in the air," but you can put it there for your "audience" only because they concur in your way of counting. Similarly, if people strongly believe that a certain act is despicable, the artist can arouse them to indignation by the picture of a "villain" who commits this act. For such reasons, Mr. Krutch decides that drama and poetry achieve importance and power "when they are genuinely believed—when the structures that they erect receive the support of religion, of patriotism, and of philosophy."

Such a position naturally requires a different statement of the "poet's problem" from that which Mr. Krutch made in "The Modern Temper." Now, instead of saying that poetry is dying because "poetic illusions" are dying, he seems to feel that the possibilities of powerful and comprehensive literature are limited mainly by the fact that society now happens to lack a powerful and comprehensive ideology, or body of convictions, for the poet to work with. We cannot ask literature "to assume unaided a task which the literatures of other times could perform only with the help of philosophy and religion." Magic, religion, and metaphysics, all helped in the past to substantiate structures of convictions which the artist could tap or manipulate to arouse his audience. But such systems have given way to science—and science so far has done more to obliterate the older structures of beliefs than to establish sound new ones.

Yet, as Mr. Krutch wisely says, there are evidences of emergent new beliefs which may be "humanized" by poets of the future (the critic thus tending to adopt what we might call the "attitude of Wordsworth"). "Crowds carry transatlantic fliers in triumph from the field just as crowds are said to have carried Cimabue's Virgin in triumph through the streets of Florence"—which would certainly indicate that the poet of today who wanted to warm his audience's heart by the symbolization of a hero, yet did not like to feel that he was merely relying for his effect upon a "poetic illusion" out of the past, might find available for exploitation a new belief as to the nature of the heroic (mechanical prowess) just as Homer symbolized heroism for the Greeks by his picture of physical strength (Hercules). The example is particularly apt, and suggests, indeed, the genuine emergence of a new belief, when we recall that in Graeco-Roman mythology the god of mechanical ingenuity was lame, and even in Teuton mythology skill of such sort was in the hands of dwarfs.

Mr. Krutch, rightly, I think, questions those schools of literary criticism which would relegate the enjoyment of poetry to a mere "make-believe" corner of the mind. He holds that art bears upon the coordinates of living in general, giving us those emphases in the imaginative sphere which are relevant to "other human interests," to man's "other activities" outside of art. He upholds the notion of our aesthetic interests as integral to our entire lives, ruling out the once fashionable doctrine of the special "aesthetic sense." The fact that poets can write poems on riding to the moon or that Dante can, though building upon beliefs now discredited, impress many readers of today, has led many critics to diagnose wrongly the "make-believe" aspect of art. If Dante's poetry is still effective, it is effective only because the beliefs upon which it is erected are still effective, some being preserved as "echoes" or survivals (as in our vocabulary of "sins"), and some preserved as contrivances acutely adjusted to constants of human thought (as when Dante, looking up, sees above him Beatrice, also looking up—a symbolism permanently effective because people will forever "look up," and this ingenious symbolization of the process of looking-up by the use of two stages instead of one brilliantly brings the process before us). Similarly, if the poet delights us with a poem On Riding to the Moon, he appeals only in so far as he exploits very real and active "convictions" as to the nature of the fearsome, the awesome, the ecstatic, the invigorating, and so forth. A poet is like the man who cried "fire" in a theater: the man's "genius" resided in the fact that the word was so well adjusted to the emotional dispositions, the apprehensions, the "beliefs" of people in that particular situation.

I can indicate here only the "midrib" of Mr. Krutch's argument, which seems to be in many ways sound, though complicated with some survivals more in keeping with his earlier position. I would take issue mainly with his statement, which

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seems to me unnecessarily modest, that "it grew simply and informally out of my own experiences with various works of art." Mr. Krutch is a very well-read critic, and I believe his book profits by his discriminating acquaintance with current tendencies in thinking, particularly as regards the problems of literary criticism when viewed from the standpoint of communication, or meaning, the tendency to study art as a reader-writer relationship rather than from the standpoint of mere reader or writer alone. KENNETH BURKE

Washington Muckrakers

High Low Washington. By 30 32. J. B. Lippincott Company. $2.50.

More Merry-Go-Round. Anonymous. Liveright. $3.

Washington Swindle Sheet. By William P. Helm. Albert and Charles Boni. $2.50.

IN a sense all three of these books are muckraking volumes. The activities of individual members of the government are examined intelligently, often irreverently. Mr. Helm bases his observations on information obtained exclusively from the public records. The anonymous authors of the other two works go to numerous other sources as well for their abundant data, anecdotes, and comments. Mr. Helm, fortified with unassailable facts and figures, discusses the care-free manner in which many of our Congressmen and other public servants spend other people's money. "High Low Washington" and "More Merry-Go-Round," both of which more or less supplement the original "Washington Merry-Go-Round," discuss virtually everything else that has been going on in the national capital. Of the two, "High Low Washington" is the more erudite and the more cleverly written. It has the polished style one ordinarily finds only in the work of English journalists. "More Merry-Go-Round" presents a fuller picture, is more boisterous, and surely more American in the manner in which it smashes into the Washington scene with resounding, often devastating, blows.

Unlike the early muckrakers, the several authors do not attempt to prove that political immorality can be exclusively attributed to personal or human weakness. They are not afraid to explore the political system, social environment, and economic conditions which influence the average politician as much as do his own ethical standards. Mr. Helm sees nothing especially corrupt or unethical in "government by commission," but he does try to show how expensive and futile some of the Hoover commissions have been. He does not suggest that Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr., was not properly mindful of the requirements of public morality when he investigated the Communists a year and a half ago, but he suggests that the money invested in this "grandiose hunt for a menace that didn't exist," which "cost the taxpayers of the United States $18,210.95 plus the pay of the federal agents detached from their routine tasks to help track the menace down," might better have been spent to feed a few thousand of our unemployed.

The authors of "High Low Washington" can in most entertaining fashion describe the absurd lengths to which many Congressmen will go in order to get themselves reelected, with the result that "very few of the representatives of the people have time to pay much attention to the main courses of the people's destiny," and then in later chapters they can set personalities aside to look at the current period of "frenzied finance" and at the connection between recent events in Washington and the new economic trends in our national life. As if control of the state by big business had not already gone far enough, they do not hesitate to predict an intensification of the struggle by the great economic interests for control of the government because of the government's increasing authority over finance and the credit structure. A chapter in this book that must not be missed is the one entitled David and Goliath, in which is told the story of the audacious and thus far amazingly successful crusade of a lone publicity agent against the powerful radio trust.

"More Merry-Go-Round" continues the good work begun in the first volume. For the first time—in Nine Old Men—those dim figures who sit on the Supreme Court bench are brought down to earth. To virtually all Americans the justices of the Supreme Court have been godlike in their remoteness, if not in their wisdom. "More Merry-Go-Round" enables us to observe them at close range and to understand why human progress is frequently impeded by the decisions of our highest court. Muscle Men does the same thing for the numerous members of the Senate who are always quick to guard the status quo against the encroachments of human intelligence and enlightenment. The antics of Ogden Mills and Eugene Meyer, the "wizards of reconstruction," in trying to unscramble the present economic mess without sacrificing any of the interests of their class are likewise described with cutting humor. The same ridicule, based upon hard and undeniable facts, is used to puncture Secretary Hurley's once lofty reputation. It is this ridicule which makes "More Merry-Go-Round" not only an amusing but a dangerous book. If the conservatives of America were wise, they would move heaven and earth to have it suppressed. MAURITZ A. HALLGREN

The Northwest Passage

The Invasion. By Janet Lewis. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

"THE INVASION" would be a distinguished narrative if it offered nothing but its illumination of primitive American idealism. The preoccupation of novelists and poets in the past twenty years with the epic heroism of our national origins has suffered more than it has profited by the enthusiasm of myth-making. In a desire to translate the inchoate material of Indian warfare, agrarian conquest, and political determination into documents of exalted poetic scale, the volition of the subject matter itself—invariably the central factor in any genuine epic conception—has been sacrificed to the arbitrary schematization imposed on it by authors who were too impatient to master the material of their researches. Authentic American criticism will hardly be forced out of the violent but irresolute ambitions of the average fictional historian. The dignified intentions of novelists from Frank Norris to T. S. Stribling seem destined to frustration through their inability to fuse the objective reality of American experience with a sufficiently persuasive or representative symbolism.

"The Invasion," however, exhibits at every turn a profound familiarity with its subject matter. To readers of Miss Lewis's earlier Indian poems, it has been apparent that her researches into Ojibway history were antedated by an intimate personal acquaintance with it. Her novel thus offers none of the aesthetic condescension which artificializes most books of its sort. A faultless detachment operates without prejudice in relation to the two racial elements presented. They are merged by something stronger than the marriage of the educated young Irish trader, John Johnston, to the chieftain Waub-ojeeg's daughter in the Sault Sainte Marie country in 1792. The fusion is more than incidental to the ensuing record of the Johnston family, down to the death of Anna Maria Johnston in 1928. It proceeds from the sympathy which united the rival races in the Northwest wilderness, and which becomes a steady and tangible motivation throughout the record.

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Miss Lewis will be compared with Miss Cather, Elizabeth Roberts, and Caroline Gordon in her conscientious approach to historical materials. She deserves the comparison, but in some respects she will suffer by it. Her book lacks the force of created reality. The unobtrusive but powerful dramatic propulsion of "My Antonia" and "The Time of Man" is missing, and even apart from her sacrifice of purely novelistic interest, Miss Lewis flags at several stages, making the reader wish she had violated her integrity to fact by introducing more conspicuous motivating centers to her tale. She has not even gone so far as Miss Gordon, in "Penhally," in centering her narrative in local personalities, but the Johnstons, like the southern Crenfrews and Llewellyns, have a specific representative quality. They are a complete record of their country at the threshold of the Northwest.

As a chronicle "The Invasion" avoids surrounding Indian life with false pathos as firmly as it avoids the traditional Indian animosity of nineteenth-century pioneer fiction. The ordeal of the pioneer is not portrayed with pity or rugged heroics. "The Invasion," though it stands as a history rather than a novel, is an exceptional achievement.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Shorter Notices

Carson the Advocate. By Edward Marjoribanks. The Macmillan Company. $3.

For those who are interested in that peculiar product of civilization, the lawyer's mind, this book offers fascinating material. In the early years of the twentieth century Edward Carson and Rufus Isaacs opposed each other in many of the most important suits in England, and Carson was known as the most capable cross-examiner in the British Isles. His object all sublime seemed to be to make a monkey of a man, or worse—in the case of Oscar Wilde, to ruin his life—to gratify an unintelligent sense of abstract justice, and to win his case. It must be said for Carson that he sincerely believed Wilde's effect on the young to be monstrous, and that he tried to gain for him mitigation of punishment. Whatever Wilde's effect on the young, the effect of Carson on the aged and infirm members of the propertied classes seems to emerge from these pages as at least equally deleterious. In addition to its account of some of Carson's leading cases at the bar, the book deals in detail with his activities in the House of Commons as the member for Trinity College, Dublin, and with his activities in the government as the supporter of Arthur James Balfour. It would have been a better book had Edward Marjoribanks lived to complete the second volume, which was to have dealt with Carson's major work, his leadership of the Ulster movement. The book leaves one of progressive tendencies with an admiration for Carson's skill as an advocate and with a contempt for his adherence, at any cost, to the principle of the sanctity of private property. As one reads, one finds oneself becoming critical of Carson and gaining the impression that the author worshiped him.

What Men Live By. By Ernest Dimnet. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

Having instructed us in the art of thinking, Canon Dimnet of Cambrai now presents a series of lay sermons on the text "Ars artium regimen animarum," which he obligingly translates: "The art of arts is the guidance of the soul." Comparing our moral life to residence in a two-storied house, he advises us how we can contrive to spend more time upstairs in "reading with a purpose" and "studying great issues" than downstairs with the radio. On the ground floor we are oppressed by the petty tyranny of things, while we may commune above stairs with the True, the Beautiful, and the Good. These metaphysical abstractions, materialized for mortal apperception as science, art, and ethics, are discussed in a manner curiously compounded of complacency and humility, and with a profusion of platitudes. Inasmuch as the book is avowedly addressed to American readers, one wonders what composite type the author has in mind when he remarks on one page, "I don't suppose you ever heard the name of Scaramelli," and on another page assumes that his imaginary interlocutor is familiar with the verbal idiosyncrasies of Mallarmé and Valéry. Of his *obiter dicta* perhaps the most striking is this: "It cannot be doubted that the Empire State Building must have been predestined to stand where it is . . . it appears to be a final and unescapable thought without which there could have been neither completeness nor proportion. Its presence is so visibly god-willed that we never give a thought to its recency."

The Savage Pilgrimage. A Narrative of D. H. Lawrence. By Catherine Carswell. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.75.

A word of advice might well be broadcast generally to the friends of Lawrence: don't be in such a hurry with your books on the great man. Middleton Murry seemed to set the tempo with his indecently precipitate and ambiguous book. From Catherine Carswell, whose "Life of Burns" was a distinguished and brilliant biography, one expected something rather fine on Lawrence; but her narrative falls into the same mood of nervous hysteria. Almost every page flutters with controversy, chiefly with Murry, so that the general reader feels he has been let in on a sort of shrill quarrel among intimates over the garments of the dead hero. Where Murry was obsessed with "betrayal," Mrs. Carswell is on the very opposite side, supinely discipular, and will have it that not in a single item was the master other than right and great. Some details are new and hence interesting to the student of Lawrence, but the book as a whole falls curiously flat—unperceptive, unevocative.

Afternoons in Utopia. By Stephen Leacock. Dodd, Mead and Company. $2.

This volume is the result of the first meeting between Stephen Leacock, the famous American humorist, and Professor Leacock, the eminent Canadian economist. Mr. Leacock's humor, even at its best, has always been fairly rudimentary. Combined with Professor Leacock's conservative social point of view, this rudimentary humor functions as the justification of the more vulgar prejudices and is definitely not funny. There are a few amusing pages of parody on Utopia novels, but when Mr. and Professor Leacock get together on medicine, education, war, sex, and the gold standard, they are quite sour. Indeed, it may be said that few books that have touched on economics have better justified its characterization as the dismal science.

Marcella. By Mariano Azuela. Translated by Anita Brenner. Introduction by Waldo Frank. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.

There is real violence and vitality in this novel of prerevolutionary Mexico. Superficially it is a melodrama in the familiar tradition of the Latin-American tale of passion, but the eternal triangle and the several murders and betrayals are given a wider, political significance. The central characters—Marcella, Julian, the decadent landowner, and Gertrudis, Marcella's proletarian lover—are portrayed as representatives of their various social classes, and the greatest emphasis is placed on their class characteristics. The pictures of semi-feudal ranch life are clear and convincing. Anita Brenner's translation, employing modern vernacular skilfully and with restraint, is excellent in all respects.

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Nobody Starves. By Catharine Brody. Longmans, Green and Company. $2.

"Nobody Starves" is the saga of Molly and Bill in Automobile Town, or Outside Looking In. There are millions of Mollys and Bills; change the setting and Automobile Town might be any mill town in the United States. In the good days work was easy to come by; you lost one job, you got another. In short, Molly and Bill get married, being under the curious illusion—sometimes known as rugged individualism—that they have a right to live, to love, and to be happy. Pay is high in Automobile Town; that is to say, Molly and Bill are able to afford a colorless, horizonless existence—a little flat, instalment furniture, movies, a radio, maybe some day even a car to provide the thin deception of escape—and at the same time to put a little aside each week in the bank against a rainy day. But the rain that begins as a thin drizzle soon settles into a steady downpour of adversity and eventually becomes a deluge. Unlike Noah, Molly and Bill do not get a tip in advance. They are washed out to sea, their little boat is scuttled and they go down. Miss Brody has written her story of two babes in the industrial woods in a style that nowhere smacks of journalism, in a style that is lucid, sometimes brilliant, always effective. Her novel gets very close to the American worker from the outside, depicts very vividly the background of flying belts and revolving wheels, the "frozen hell of iron, steel, and noise" with which the American worker wrestles. The bitter winds of mental and physical anguish sweep through the book like the harrowing winds forever blowing down the sterile streets of Automobile Town, cold, remorseless, heartbreaking. For people like Molly and Bill the only hope is in revolt.

The Fortress. By Hugh Walpole. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

"The Fortress" brings the Herries family well into the Victorian period. It is the next to the last of Mr. Walpole's carefully thought-out series dealing with the intimate history of an English family. As in the previous volume, the energetic Judith Paris dominates the scene, and the scene remains the same forbidding Cumberland. The characters, incidents, and scenery are all recorded in detail and with considerable technical skill. Every episode seems to have been most carefully scrutinized by the author. Yet, with all Mr. Walpole's literary competence there are numerous lengthy passages that are completely dead, never achieving any effect beyond that of so many carefully wrought sentences. The life of the characters is a matter of accumulated momentum from previous volumes rather than of the personality that the author has been able to give them here. The settings which occupy so much of the book seem frequently to be paintings on canvas. Mr. Walpole's skill is not enough to save "The Fortress" from giving the impression that it is an exercise in the technique of the English monumental novel.

Uncollected Lectures. By Ralph Waldo Emerson. Edited by Clarence Gohdes. New York: William Edwin Rudge. $3.

The lectures here brought once more to the light of day were delivered in 1864-65 and in 1869. The texts are based upon fairly full reports printed in contemporary magazines, and contain a good deal of material of which Emerson made no further use. Mr. Gohdes has helpfully inserted footnotes to indicate what material did find its way into well-known Emersonian essays. The outstanding value of this collection is its revelation of how close to the contemporary American outlook Emerson really was. In no other place is it made so clearly apparent that he was a man of his time. Passage after passage might be cited as typical expressions of American optimism about the future greatness of the country, about the pe-

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AMERICANA. Shubert Theater. McEvoy review with some good satire and some good dancing.

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CIVIC REPERTORY THEATER. Eva Le Gallienne in repertory which includes "Liliom," "Camille" and "Dear Jane"—the latter a biographical drama about Jane Austin.

CLEAR ALL WIRES. Times Square Theater. Doings of a high-powered correspondent in Moscow. Notable for its remarkable cast.

COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW. Plymouth Theater. Revival of Elmer Rice's picturesque tale of life as a lawyer sees it.

CRIMINAL AT LARGE. Belasco Theater. Exciting and credible tale of crime in a country house. One superb performance.

DINNER AT EIGHT. Music Box Theater. Trick melodrama about what happened to the various guests invited to a dinner party. The general public likes it very much better than I do.

MADEMOISELLE. Playhouse. Alice Brady and Grace George make a sentimental comedy pleasant enough.

MUSIC IN THE AIR. Alvin Theater. Pleasant operetta with music by Jerome Kern and a book rather better than average.

SUCCESS STORY. Maxine Elliott Theater. What happened to a radical when he rose in business. The best drama of the season.

THE DARK HOURS. New Amsterdam Theater. Reviewed this week.

THE LATE CHRISTOPHER BEAN. Henry Miller Theater. Light comedy from the French completely re-written by Sidney Howard and charmingly played by Pauline Lord and others. All things considered, it is much the most enjoyable comedy of the season.

THE GOOD EARTH. Guild Theater. Conscientious but none too successful effort to make a play out of a successful novel.

WHEN LADIES MEET. Royale Theater. A very popular sermon by Rachel Crothers.

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culiar and unique value of American institutions, and about the superlatively high social standards which the country encouraged.

> Here is a great middle class, with its schools, newspapers, books, for each, with the privilege of advanced culture if they choose to secure it, made serious by the duties and necessities of self-support, by labor, by the full scope of moral restraint, by the pressure of all the tension and influence of humanity—a condition far more healthy to the intellect and heart than any policy which absolves the man from motive and responsibility, and connection with the race. In this country no one but is related to that middle class. Everyone knows and values that relation. We cleave to it . . .

A more explicit definition of Emerson's own social allegiance could hardly be expected. It but remains to proceed from this point to a discussion of how he sublimated his basic social loyalty into the well-known forms it took—a task which has never yet been thoroughly performed, though many have given hints and helps to the writer who finally essays the task.

A Passing America. By Cornelius Weygandt. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

Cornelius Weygandt's nostalgia for the passing of rural America is a genuine contribution to our folk culture. Among many things he celebrates covered bridges, the chestnut trees, Venetian blinds, log houses, wagons, quill pens, country presses, and the teaching of Greek in preparatory schools. Mr. Weygandt is not merely an ardent Pennsylvanian weeping over the departed glory of a civilization that he knew so well as a boy, nor is he influenced by the lavish passion of a Joseph Hergesheimer for old furniture. He can appreciate his past or leave it alone—all this with a kindly sense of humor that we recognize as characteristically American. His book is written in the style of the local historian whose work is now read and patronized by literary New Yorkers who have bought farms in Connecticut; it is made distinctive by observation as keen as that of a trained archaeologist.

Music

European Potpourri

Berlin, November 2

IN the course of a flying trip to Europe, during which I have been able to hear only one opera performance each in Paris and Berlin and one orchestra concert in Paris, I have had time only to convince myself that the passage of time does not always wrap the past in perfumed memories. At least, the perfume of Paris opera and orchestra performances that had remained with me during the five years since I last heard them was not a pleasant odor; and the memory of opera in Berlin hardly more than a whiff of the reality.

It will not be surprising, perhaps, that "Die Meistersinger," as given at the Staatsoper, Unter den Linden, with Furtwängler conducting, was a revelation of almost everything opera should be—and outside Berlin, Moscow, Milan, and Vienna, very rarely is. I am not a Furtwänglerite out and out, and I found many things to disagree with in those parts of the opera I really know; but that an entire performance, including orchestra, singers, chorus, scenic direction, stage manager, and audience, could be a unified, purposeful, and consistently moving affair was a fact I had not remembered with anything like the vividness with which I perceived it from this Berlin performance. There are some better singers at the Metropolitan, of course, and better woodwinds here and in Paris; but in Berlin, believe it or not, they all seem to know why they are there, both musically and dramatically, during every minute of the performance. Does it seem credible that practically every word of every singer was heard?

Doubtless it was fortunate that I heard "Alceste" in Paris before and not after the Berlin "Meistersinger," though the two opera houses stand on such entirely incommensurable footings that comparisons do not suggest themselves. The Paris Opera is run on a small fraction of what the Staatsoper costs, and its home is in a city where opera is one of a thousand attractions—not, as in Berlin, at the very heart of the nation's aesthetic life. I had lurid memories of fantastically bad performances in Paris and went to hear "Alceste" to familiarize myself with the work—not to enjoy the performance. But apparently the Opéra is as unpredictable as the rest of France; for there was little to regret and much to admire in the chorus and orchestra, the soloists were not too inadequate, the mise en scène was no worse than the stock sets at the Metropolitan (it used to be, and doubtless still is for most works, much worse). There is probably a good deal in the explanation I received: "Alceste" (composed by Christoph Willibald von Gluck) is a great monument of French art and as such revered by all participants; it has only recently been restored to the repertory, and this is an added reason why it has so much more life, as a performance, than "Paillasse" or "L'or du Rhin," exotic treasures at best and much too well routined for their 245th performances to have much interest for anyone. In Paris as in New York the idea of frequent *Neueinstudierungen* of thrice familiar works—with new sets, new stage management, and an entirely fresh scrutiny of the score—such as occur regularly in Berlin (Furtwängler's "Meistersinger" was one) is unknown.

Another pleasant disappointment awaited me in the Orchestre Symphonique de Paris, under Cortot, in the Salle Pleyel. The report that there are no good orchestras in Paris (it was certainly true five and six years ago) must allow at least one exception: the Orchestre Symphonique does not seem to me very far inferior to the best orchestras of America and Germany, though both its virtues and its weaknesses are along different lines, of course. While the strings have the same sort of shallow twang that French pianos have, their ensemble is not far behind that of the New York Philharmonic, though not up to the fabulous strings of the Staatsoper. The brasses are not to be compared with ours. But in the woodwinds the Orchestre Symphonique has a treasure that is certainly not approached by any orchestra I have ever heard outside of Paris; and the program, which included a "Concert dans le goût théâtral" by Couperin, exquisitely orchestrated by Cortot, showed them off to full advantage. It is simply not true that our higher salaries have attracted all the best orchestral musicians; an American orchestra would consider itself fortunate to have the solo flute, oboe, clarinet, or bassoon of the Orchestre Symphonique, let alone all four.

The program also included a long-lost cantata of Berlioz, recently unearthed by his biographer, Adolphe Boschot—the cantata with which he made an unsuccessful attempt for the Prix de Rome. With the exception of one or two bits of striking orchestration and a poetic conclusion, it is a naively dull work. Vladimir Horowitz played that incredibly cheap piece, Rachmaninoff's Third Piano Concerto, and some pleasant French pianistic bits (Ravel and Poulenc) with doubtless great, but to me not very interesting, virtuosity, and to applause of the same tumultuous kind that greets him here. And on a Steinway—on such times has the Salle Pleyel fallen!

I have no space left for the hall itself—more remarkable in its way than the Orchestre Symphonique or Mr. Horowitz, since, unlike them, it has no rivals. I can only hope that the architects of Radio City are acquainted with it; it seems everything a concert hall should be.

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Dramatized by Owen Davis and Donald Davis from the PULITZER PRIZE NOVEL by Pearl S. Buck
GUILD THEA. 52nd Street, West of B'way. Eves. 8:30 Mats. Thurs. and Sat. at 2:30

Gilbert Miller presents
PAULINE LORD *in*
THE LATE
CHRISTOPHER BEAN
with WALTER CONNOLLY
HENRY MILLER'S Theater, 124 West 43rd Street
Eves. 8:45, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:45
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PROF. GEORGE SWETLOW, speaks on:
"FAMILY RELATIONS and the LAW IN SOVIET RUSSIA"
Sunday Afternoon, Dec. 4th at 4:30 P.M.
V. F. CALVERTON, speaks on:
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DEBATE!
Nov. 27th Sunday 8:30 P. M.
COMMUNISM OR SOCIALISM
Which Shall the Workers Follow?
Scott NEARING vs. James ONEAL
BROOKLYN FORUM—BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
30 Lafayette Ave., near Flatbush Ave.
Tickets: 25c—50c—$1.00 at Box Office—Rand Book Store—7 E. 15th St., N. Y.
Sun., Dec. 4th—Harry Elmer Barnes vs. Charles Solomon

The Nation's Radio Hour
Station WEVD 1300k—231m
Wednesday Nov. 30, 8:15 p.m.
Oswald Garrison Villard, *speaker*
Other interesting programs over WEVD:
The Group Theater, Sunday, 8:15 p. m.
Heywood Broun, Thursday, 8:30 p. m.
Hendrik Van Loon, Friday, 8:15 p. m.

Drama

Passion Play

WHEN, some seven or eight years ago, Don Marquis published his Biblical drama "The Dark Hours," it received high praise from various critics of distinction. Transferred now to the stage of the New Amsterdam Theater in an elaborate production, it seems merely an inoffensive pageant whose virtues are largely negative. The five scenes of the play follow with little variation the Gospel narrative of the last days of Jesus, and one is tempted to say of it only what one usually says of a dramatization: "I've read the book and I liked it better."

Mr. Marquis's treatment is reverent and understanding. He avoids those pitfalls of bathos which are not easily avoided and he is reasonably dramatic. But one expects that a play upon such a theme shall justify itself by some contribution—by some unexpected twist, some novel interpretation, or some shift of emphasis. Mr. Marquis, however, is content to be unimpeachably orthodox, and almost his only novelty consists in bringing Lazarus to the foot of the cross where he can proclaim, "There is no death," for the purpose, apparently, of pleasing the students of Christian Science. There is, of course, no reason why Mr. Marquis should attempt the paradoxical. A stunning tour de force like Anatole France's "Procurator of Judea" is one thing and a Biblical drama is another. But only a poet of very high order should dare to compete directly with the Gospel narrative, and that is exactly what Mr. Marquis does. The scenes which he chooses to develop are, for the most part, exactly the scenes chosen by the authors of the New Testament, and he hardly succeeds in heightening their treatment.

One can only wonder that he did not prefer rather to elaborate those incidents which the Bible leaves to our imagination. After all, the Gospel narrative picks out only a few scenes for presentation. Dozens of events take place "off stage," as it were, and the imagination of even the most orthodox should feel itself free to deal with them. We know already how Judas behaved at Gethsemane, what Pilate said when he washed his hands, and how the three soldiers threw dice for the cloak of Jesus. But what did Pilate think before and after? What did Judas say before he hanged himself? Mr. Marquis, we know, has pondered the story. All its principal personages must be to him people with histories of their own. Why, then, did he not tell us what these histories are, instead of sticking to the events of which we already have an account generally conceded to be something more than competent? Almost any play could be accompanied by a companion play which dealt exclusively with the things which happened during the entr'actes of the first. Such a companion piece to "The Dark Hours" would be more interesting than the drama we now have. The latter is far better than most of the passion plays of stage or screen, but it is essentially an effort of the same class. Parents may safely send their children; the parents themselves will find themselves waiting for something which never happens. In the first act there is a promising beginning made with the character of Judas but the promise is never fulfilled.

"Music in the Air" (Alvin Theater) is the name of the new Jerome Kern–Oscar Hammerstein musical show. Like its predecessor, "The Cat and the Fiddle," it belongs to the polite and romantic tradition of operetta. I am not myself devoted to the genre, but those who are consider this one of the best examples.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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